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HUNTHAUSEN
Marjorie Hope
& James Young
BUTHELEZI FACTOR

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OCTOBER 10, 1986

SANCTUARY

The recent trial in Tucson, Arizona, raises tough questions about the law.

ERIC JORSTAD

CATHOLICS & JEWS

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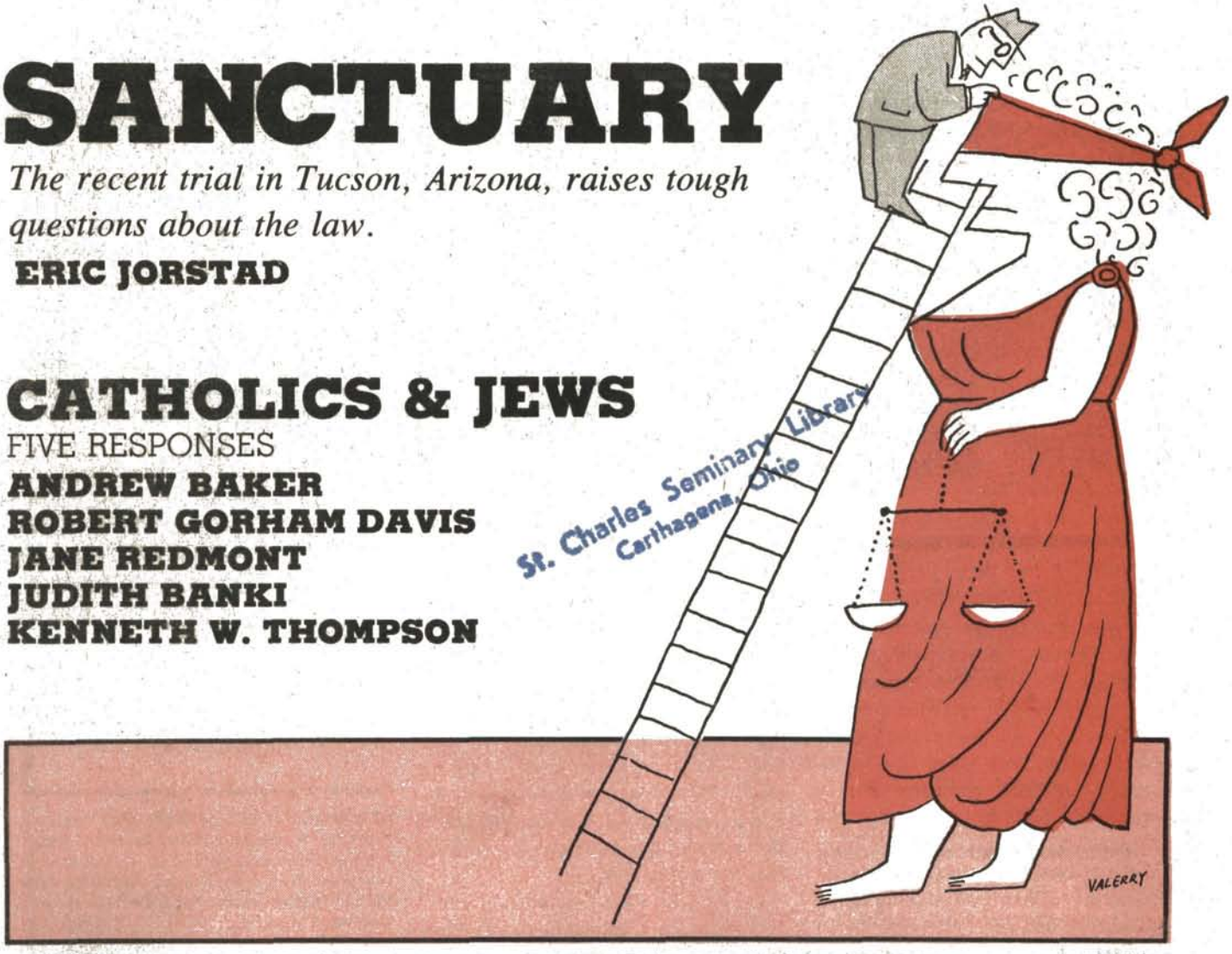

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Correspondence

LIBERATION THEOLOGY

READERS RESPOND TO JOHN C. CORT

Brooklyn, N.Y.

To the Editors: John Cort's enlightening article ["Christians & the Class Struggle," July 11] makes clear the liberal uneasiness with some aspects of liberation theology. In opting *only* for revolutions, some theologians bring to mind the Leninist distrustful disdain and deep desire for the destruction of reform. In the interests of an abstraction and a total (-itarian?) "grand plan" based on a comprehensive ideology, ameliorative measures are not only downgraded, they are fought as obstacles.

When some liberationist disciples deride an absolute commitment to a completely unfettered press, the liberal asks whether bread can be digested without liberty. When some radical Christians negate the need for a trade union movement unhampered by government, the liberal foresees a stultifying monolithic society in the making. When revolutionary Catholics want a pulpit only to celebrate and not prophetically to critique their movement, then the liberal fears a self-righteous populist theocracy able to rival the Gallican and Austrian versions of other eras and the Ayatollah of our times.

As John Cort well wrote, we want to praise, support, and assist our fellow Christians in Latin America as they pioneer new Gospel forms of action and understanding. We are eager to learn from them even when such knowledge forces an act of contrition on our part. At the same time and in the same spirit, can the liberal not ask our Latin American co-religionists to respect and learn from our Western experiences born in the camps of Hitler and the gulags of the Stalinists?

FRANK C. ARRICALE

Right, but out of date

Princeton, N.J.

To the Editors: John C. Cort's article on Marxism and the liberation theology of Gustavo Gutierrez is correct in its criticisms of Marx, but out of date in its strictures against Gutierrez. As evidence of Gutierrez's acceptance of Marx's theories of exploitation and class struggle, Cort relies principally on Gutierrez's *A Theology of Liberation* (published in Spanish in 1971) and the *Final Document* of the 1972 meeting of the Christians for Socialism in Chile, in the writing of which Gutierrez had only a limited role. It is true that Cort cites one passage in *Power of the Poor in History* which was published in English in 1983, but that work is a collection of earlier articles, and, in fact, the passage he cites was originally published in Peru in 1973.

For a more accurate view of Gutierrez's current thinking, readers should consult his more recent *We Drink from Our Own Wells* (Orbis, 1984) which is a deeply spiritual meditation on poverty that relies on the Bible as its inspiration rather than the trendy leftism of the early 1970s. Gutierrez takes a more critical view of Marxism these days (in, for example, his widely-published article, *"Teologia y las ciencias sociales,"* which I am translating as an appendix to my forthcoming book, tentatively entitled, *Liberation Theology at the Crossroads: Democracy or Revolution*), and it is unfortunate that the two Vatican Instructions on liberation theology did not take account of this.

As the title of my book indicates, I agree with Mr. Cort that liberation theology in its initial formulations was overly reliant on Marxist "tools of analysis," but I believe it is now moving in the direction that he recommends: "a brand of socialism that is more unambiguously democratic."

PAUL E. SIGMUND
Director, Latin American
Studies Program
Princeton University

Quaint & myopic

Chelsea, Mass.

To the Editors: John C. Cort's article, "Christians and the Class Struggle," underscores several weaknesses in his understanding of liberation theology. For instance, he criticizes Gutierrez's apparent belief in the elimination of private ownership as unrealistic in an agrarian society. Cort, however, makes two fundamental mistakes. First, Gutierrez doesn't want to eliminate private ownership [but] only private ownership of the "means" of production. Second, Cort ignores socio-cultural phenomena that are rapidly making the peasant a minority social type: urbanization, mass migration, massification by the mass media, industrialization, and trade unionism. Cort's vision of a Latin American peasant wanting a piece of land is quaint and romantic, but it doesn't do justice to Latin American reality.

Cort suffers from myopia. He accuses Gutierrez, for example, of imposing "European abstractions" upon Latin American peasants. What Cort loses sight of, though, is that the appropriation of such abstractions is mediated by Latin American experience, i.e., the experience of the barrio-dwelling, dark-skinned, mestizo Gutierrez. As for the suggestion that Gutierrez stay out of politics because he doesn't have a clear-cut political conception of a new society, Cort should be reminded that faith has a political dimension and that liberation theology is not out to formulate strategy,

(Continued on page 539)

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AN ARCHBISHOP WRONGED

SCANDAL, IT SEEMS, is in the eye of the beholder. What else explains the Vatican's failure to recognize its treatment of Archbishop Raymond G. Hunthausen as scandalous? An eighty-year-old priest from Seattle writes to a Catholic paper and asks prayers for all "who had a hand in assassinating the character of our saintly archbishop." Another letter from another priest in the same paper notes the Vatican's frequent warnings against scandalizing the faithful. Yet a "prophetic, dedicated, and spiritual leader" like Hunthausen, the writer continues, is "treated as a mere lackey, to the scandal of Catholics and non-Catholics alike. . . . Until the Vatican begins to respect the dignity of loyal bishops, its call for human rights in the world will fall on deaf ears." These are letters, it should be noted, to a *conservative* Catholic paper, suggesting that the distress experienced over the treatment of Archbishop Hunthausen goes far beyond the boundaries even of those who might naturally concern themselves with the rights of "dissent." Similarly, the distress goes far beyond those who identify themselves with the archbishop's unqualified personal protest against nuclear weaponry. There have been two meetings of Seattle's priests since it was publicly acknowledged that Rome had ordered Hunthausen's powers in areas like liturgy, moral teaching on sex-related issues, priestly formation and discipline, and operation of the archdiocesan tribunal to be turned over to the recently appointed auxiliary bishop, Donald Wuerl. At both meetings, the bafflement and dismay over the Vatican action was virtually unanimous; pastors reported the confusion and pain felt by their parishioners; conservative priests joined liberals and moderates in protesting what appeared to be Rome's stunning disregard for the traditional role of a bishop.

What was also noteworthy about those Seattle meetings and other local responses was the eagerness of the archbishop's supporters to go an extra mile — in keeping with the tone of accommodation and reconciliation that Archbishop Hunthausen himself has set. There was, for example, an almost painful attempt to exempt Bishop Wuerl personally from any responsibility for the imbroglio and to welcome his contribution to the archdiocese. The first of four points in a petition circulating in Washington state underlines the petitioners' "solidarity with the universal church" and "communion with Pope John Paul II." Again and again, Seattle Catholic leaders have requested that the Vatican set forth plainly its specific complaints so that they can be addressed. "We want to deal with them in an open, collegial process," states the petition, "and with the assistance of Bishop Wuerl."

Indeed, the calculated obscurity with which the Vatican has conducted this matter is a major aspect of the scandal. At the request of the Vatican, Archbishop James A. Hickey of Washington, D.C., made an "apostolic visitation" to Seattle in 1983 to evaluate criticisms made of Archbishop Hunthausen's policies and to "support the archbishop in his ministry." Both Hickey and Apostolic Pro-Nuncio Pio Laghi

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eventually concluded this investigation with what appeared to be effusive praise of Hunthausen personally and of his spiritual leadership. At this remove, those phrases look like a local anesthestic administered while the stiletto was slipped between the ribs. A report was sent to Rome *which Archbishop Hunthausen says he has never seen*. "Beware the Curia bearing gifts" might become a motto other bishops take to heart: when you hear praise, check your pension rights. The appointment of Bishop Wuerl was likewise surrounded by closed-door negotiations and secret (though apparently vague) understandings. A demand for explanation issued by over a hundred Seattle Catholic leaders was aptly titled, "What Kind of a Church Are We Becoming?"

If Catholics in Seattle and nationwide are wondering what, specifically, could have been so serious as to trigger Rome's unprecedented intervention, their puzzlement is understandable. Thomas J. Reese, a Jesuit now carrying out a study of American archdioceses, reported in the September 20 issue of *America* that "no evidence has been presented to show that Seattle is substantially different from other dioceses in the United States. Its tribunal is probably better staffed than most. The Seattle liturgy office says that it checks on any complaints, and if they have any merit, they talk to the priest involved." Altar girls? First Communion before first confession? General absolution before Christmas or Easter in parishes short on priests? Surely these are not reasons for demoting an archbishop! The archdiocese does not have its own seminary; according to Reese, the annual institute for continuing clergy education has not recently featured any controversial theologians. No Catholic hospital in the archdiocese provides sterilizations. A priest who was secretly married claims that Hunthausen knew of and tolerated this situation — over a decade ago and when Hunthausen was bishop of Helena, Montana. Hunthausen and officials in Helena totally deny the story. Which leaves the fact that the archbishop allowed Dignity to have a Mass in the cathedral when this organization of Catholic homosexuals held a national convention in Seattle. Was this the pastoral gesture that brought down the Vatican's ire? Reese notes that "immediately before the convention, [Archbishop Hunthausen] restated in the archdiocesan newspaper the church's teaching that while a homosexual orientation is not sinful, homosexual acts are not permitted."

What probably most marked Hunthausen's archdiocesan leadership was an emphasis on consultative and participatory structures. What most marked the archbishop's personal leadership, of course, was his moral protest, to the point of refusing to pay a portion of his taxes, against nuclear arms. Undoubtedly, this made him a lightning rod for conservative complaints, but the Vatican insists that the arms protest had nothing to do with the appointment of Wuerl and the transfer of powers. The truth is that Hunthausen, agree or disagree with him, has been exactly the kind of outstanding spiritual leader for whose benefit Cardinal Ratzinger wanted to downplay the role of national bishops' conferences. Recall that last year Ratzinger warned that national conferences, in striving for common-denominator positions acceptable to all the bishops, might vitiate the forthright presentation of Gospel truths by forceful individuals in the hierarchy. Well, the Hunthausen case indicates how seriously one can take Cardinal Ratzinger's solicitude. In reality, not rhetoric, doesn't Rome prefer the bland leading the bland?

For the moment, things in Seattle are at an impasse. Bishop Wuerl simply urges everyone to look "to the future" and "go forward" and make a "fresh start," skirting the question of the justice of what has been done and leaving, of course, the special and final decision-making powers in his own hands. In short: "Trust me." The bulk of local opinion is expressed in the petition mentioned above: "We want complete and final decision-making authority within this archdiocese to be vested in one local ordinary and therefore to be restored to Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen who was appointed to this archdiocese by the Holy See in February, 1975." The proposal has been floated that the two bishops go to Rome for, in Bishop Wuerl's words, a "forthright discussion with the proper authorities." Given Rome's record in this matter, the proposal does not seem overly promising.

But if Archbishop Hunthausen goes to Rome, he should not go alone. Leading figures in the Brazilian hierarchy, after all, did not hesitate to show their support for one of Brazil's prominent theologians. There is no question that many other American bishops have expressed support to Archbishop Hunthausen privately. Some have no doubt attempted a bit of "quiet diplomacy." Still, the lack of visible solidarity has left a lot of concerned Catholics wondering. The bishops have been preparing an economics pastoral that asks Catholic lay people to put justice first in pursuing their careers and to put themselves on the line in order to build a community based on human dignity. Aware of the tensions and conflicts, ambiguities and sacrifices inherent in any struggle for justice, the laity are apt to look skeptically on the words of leaders who appear so reticent and cautious in their own collegial affairs. It is not rancor or theatrical defiance that is wanted, but a heartfelt and honest word of reproach at the sight of a fellow bishop badly used, a sign of assurance that the future of the Catholic church will not be charted behind closed doors. Even

> *"THE HISTORY of the church in the U.S.A. was affected in a vital way by the Modernist controversies at the turn of the century. . . . Seminaries were closed, theological periodicals were suppressed, a network of 'informers' in each diocese was organized, oaths were repeatedly taken, intellectually rigid bishops were appointed, and fear and distrust were everywhere. . . .*
>
> *"The theological suppression of the first decade of the century and the fears it instilled resulted in a total lack of theological creativity in the U.S.A. for half a century. It also left us unprepared for the dramatic changes of the sixties. . . .*
>
> *"Is there a better way of proceeding? Has history taught us anything?"*
>
> — Archbishop Rembert G. Weakland, O.S.B.
> *Catholic Herald* (Milwaukee), September 18, 1986

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the two recent common-sensical newspaper columns by Archbishop Rembert G. Weakland have, without touching at all upon the Hunthausen case, injected some hope into a void. It is perhaps too easy to demand that religious leaders have the insight and forthrightness of prophets, but no one will go out into the desert to see reeds shaken by the wind.

'NUNCA MAIS'

Ten years ago October 12, Father João Bosco Burnier, a fifty-nine-year-old Jesuit priest working with the forest Indians and small homesteaders in Mato Grosso, Brazil, was shot to death by military police. We do not have the details from hearsay, nor from reports assembled gradually like ghosts from out of the deep forests. The story was told by an eyewitness, Dom Pedro Casaldáliga.

Casaldáliga was with Burnier at the police station. The two had gone to protest the torture of two women abducted that day by the police because of the women's association with land reform. Their screams had been heard outside the police station and reported to Burnier and Casaldáliga who were preparing catechumens for baptism. Casaldáliga was not merely Burnier's assistant. He was, in fact, his bishop; the bishop of the two women; the bishop of the police. At the police station he saw Burnier suddenly slapped, then shot in the head.

Brasil: Nunca Mais, a best-seller last year in Brazil, written under the sponsorship of Cardinal Paulo Evaristo Arns of São Paulo and soon to be available in English from Vintage under the title *Torture in Brazil*, analyzes the political imprisonment of 7,367 Brazilians between 1964 and 1979. Since 1979, yet another volume could be published, as massive and detailed as Solzhenitsyn's second *Gulag*. On August 28 of this year, Roger Cohen of the *Wall Street Journal* reported on the work of Ricardo Resende, a thirty-four-year-old priest who heads the Pastoral Commission for Land in Conceicao do Araguaia. Resende is a marked man, as was his friend, Father Josimo Moraes Tovares. Tovares was gunned down in a nearby town on May 10 for espousing land reform. In the last year, Father Resende reports, forty-seven people advocating such reform have been murdered in his diocese alone. (Some years ago, Cardinal Arns told church leaders in Paraguay that, "The political prisoners are not the problem. The problem is the iniquitous distribution of wealth.") Although land reform has been touted by the newly returned democratic government in Brazil, progress is deadly slow. According to the *Journal*, 1 percent of the population in Brazil still owns 41 percent of the land, while an estimated ten million peasants are landless.

In the remarkable first-person story of a Guatemalan Indian woman, *I, Rigoberta Menchú* (Schocken), Rigoberta Menchú recounts the 1979 torture and death of her brother, her father, and her mother. It is the sort of book that might shake even those in air-conditioned offices and homes. After her brother's death, Menchú's father told her: "I am a Christian, and the duty of a Christian is to fight all the injustices committed against our people . . . Some give their blood and some give their strength. So while we can, we must give our strength."

On October 12, it will be ten years since João Bosco Burnier gave both his strength and his blood. To elevate the role of those who intervene to save others, American Christians for the Abolition of Torture (6117 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa., 19144) and Amnesty International have set aside the day to remember Father Burnier. But his witness must not only be remembered and honored. While we have the strength, his witness must be followed in our own way. It is only by concerted, effective action that torture can finally be abolished. *Nunca Mais*. May we one day be able finally to say it: "Never again."

The Peace Corps

MAGIC FROM BELOW

ANNIVERSARY FOR AN IDEAL

SINCE I finished a Peace Corps tour in Nigeria nearly twenty years ago, the Peace Corps' Twenty-fifth Anniversary sounded like a way to check out old friends to see who was grayer or fatter, who'd stayed married to whom, and what we all had done. And Thursday, September 18, in a big tent on the Mall just below the nation's Capitol, that's pretty much how it seemed. We learned we could find our groups under balloons with the names of the ninety-two countries where 120,000 Peace Corps volunteers have served (e.g., 6,810 in the Philippines; 18 in the Cook Islands), and go to parties at "our" embassies (unless we had served in Iran), although we had to know the new names of countries: Sri Lanka, not Ceylon; Burkina Fasso, not Upper Volta. That night at National Airport, where half of every plane-load seemed to be returned volunteers (RPCVs), mass hugging broke out.

Friday morning, with RPCVs from the Philippines massed squarely in front, over 4,000 former volunteers heard President Corazon Aquino praise the Peace Corps, and talk of peace. She spoke of the personal peace and quiet she lost when her husband entered politics, of the inner, religious peace she found "in a climate of persecution . . . when Ninoy was in a prison cell." More recently, she said, her country had found peace by standing face to face with troops and tanks. Now, as president, she is "striving to promote peace in the cities and countryside," between economic and political groups, and within the international community. She came in to chants of "Cor-ee, Cor-ee"; she left to the sound of thunderous applause. For the RPCVs, that was just the beginning.

Everyday there were "country updates" and discussions (formal and informal) of foreign affairs, international food, drink, music and dance, plans for a Peace Corps Foundation, and ways for former volunteers to stay involved. Best of all, everyone present was on first-name terms with people from Serembam (Malaysia) to Chikal (Niger) to Asuncion

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(Paraguay). We had, as someone remarked, brought the world home.

By Saturday it was already clear that this was more than your average reunion. These were not just some middle-aged people who shared the same school, but Americans of all ages, races, political persuasions, and creeds, who shared a common belief in the ability of any individual to make a difference, and the obligation of every individual to try. We may not have joined up thinking conscious thoughts of waging peace, but when RPCV-turned state legislator David Magnani asked us to think, just for a minute, what it would mean if the Peace Corps traded budgets with the Pentagon, the audience roared its approval.

And then there was Sarge, that human magnum of champagne, whose energy, effervescence, and willingness to take a chance on a lot of untried, eager Americans made the whole thing go. Loret Ruppe, current head of the Peace Corps, has won the respect and appreciation of former volunteers for her spirited defense of the Peace Corps in politically difficult times. She was applauded many times. But the bond between Sargent Shriver and the volunteers is something special.

Returned volunteers have established Sargent Shriver awards for RPCVs who continue to work in the spirit of the Peace Corps' ideals. Shriver's children are starting a "Peace Worker Program" in his name for former volunteers wishing to spend a year at the Kennedy Center on Ethics.

When Shriver, "the Peace Corps' only draftee," spoke, it was of the early days and the many funny things along the way. But most of all he spoke of the value of service. It "works its magic from below, not from above," he reminded us, delivering on "the promise, not the power, of America." And like other unquantifiable, inexplicable miracles in times past, he spoke of the "miracle" of the Peace Corps' continued existence and force for good. He spoke of the moral vision that causes ordinary people to do extraordinary deeds, and his words ran like an electric current through the crowd. Be servants of peace, he said; work at home as you have abroad. Serve your families, serve your cities, your neighbors, the nation's poor; serve, serve, serve.

On Sunday we marched from the Lincoln Memorial to an ecumenical (Christian, Jewish, Islamic, and Buddhist) memorial service at Arlington Cemetery for the 198 volunteers who died overseas. That night there was a concert at the Kennedy Center. Everywhere, people stood around talking, reluctant to let go.

It isn't just that Peace Corps was a special, even pivotal experience in our lives. This anniversary gathering proved special because it reminded us of values we share, beliefs we still cherish about our responsibilities in the global community. Besides, it was terrific just to be surrounded by thousands of people who, if not "the finest human beings ever gathered," are at least willing to work for some common ideals. Like Peace. That's something worth holding onto.

NANCY AMIDEI

(Nancy Amidei frequently reports on poverty, hunger, and human services issues in these pages.)

South Africa

THE BUTHELEZI FACTOR

TRIBALISM OR NATIONAL UNITY

As THE WINDS of change blow in the direction of some sort of showdown in South Africa, the prospect of a negotiated compromise settlement there looms on the horizon. There are even signs that the future-planners in Pretoria's government sense this. It is likely that they will stall for time, trying out possible psychological tactics (such as "We will fight to the end!") to see how their own people and the rest of the world respond. But in the end they will have little choice but to make radical changes if they wish to keep the economy of that bountiful country from becoming a wasteland.

Who would be a likely candidate for the post of South Africa's first black prime minister? If you listen to Mr. Reagan, you hear him denounce the African National Congress (ANC) as a Communist front, and praise nonviolent leaders he knows. One is Mangosuthu (Gatsha) Buthelezi, who heads KwaZulu and the KwaZulu-based Inkatha movement. In fact, at a cordial meeting with Reagan at the White House in February 1985, the Zulu chief expressed strong approval of Reagan's "constructive engagement" policy and the president's refusal to impose economic sanctions.

Among some segments of the American media there is a concerted campaign to promote Buthelezi. *Human Events*, the conservative weekly, reports enthusiastically that "what sets him apart from the black militants is that he hopes for a peaceful resolution of South Africa's problems." Walter Williams, who writes for the Heritage Foundation's syndicate, describes Buthelezi as a man who decries violence and, unlike Nobel Peace Prize laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu, commands a strong constituency. The Reverend Richard Neuhaus sees Buthelezi (and Botha) at the center of a "new covenant" that would bring the divided people of the land of apartheid together. *The Wall Street Journal*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and several liberal newspapers have portrayed Buthelezi as a reasonable man, committed to nonviolence and compromise. *Time* reports that in a recent poll, South African whites chose Buthelezi — even above P.W. Botha — as the most popular South African leader. The *Financial Mail*, South Africa's *Wall Street Journal*, has picked Buthelezi as "man of the year" for his moderate stance and his willingness to join in a government of national reconciliation on other than a one-person-one-vote basis. "Above all else," says the *Financial Mail*, "he is an unabashed free marketeer."

Among South African Blacks, however, Buthelezi has become increasingly discredited. Surveys show that among Blacks living around Durban, Johannesburg, and Pretoria support for the Zulu chief and Inkatha have plummeted during the past two years. A study conducted by the opposition

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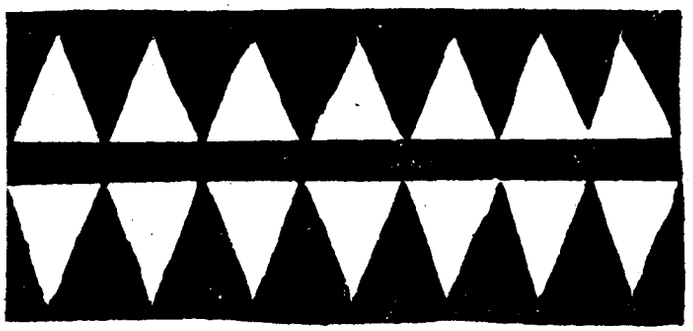
Progressive Party, which was considering an alliance with Inkatha, discovered that even Zulus looked on Buthelezi with deep suspicion. Other black South Africans — especially the young people — tend to see him as a puppet, a divisive force, an egomaniac, and anything but nonviolent.

It seems unfair to call Buthelezi a "puppet." He repeatedly stressed to us during a private interview in Ulundi, his KwaZulu capital, that he has consistently rejected Pretoria's proffered homeland status, and has opted instead for the ambiguous middle ground that KwaZulu be self-governing for the time being but non-independent. Moreover, he rejected the 1984 constitution that set up a tricameral parliament for Whites, Coloreds, and Indians, but not Blacks. He continues to express opposition to apartheid.

On the other hand, about 72 percent of the KwaZulu budget comes from Pretoria, and Buthelezi has declared his willingness to compromise for power-sharing, at least initially, rather than insist on one-person-one-vote. Inkatha members have been elected to black township councils, which are widely regarded as stooges for the white government. Pretoria has permitted Buthelezi to speak on state-sponsored television while other black leaders were denied access to such media.

There is, furthermore, little question that Buthelezi is divisive. Although he eschews tribalism, he often reminds Blacks of the Zulu tribe's mighty past and boasts of his roots in the Zulu royal family (well over 90 percent of those who belong to Inkatha are Zulus). Once a member of the ANC Youth League, for years he fostered the image of Inkatha as the internal wing of the ANC. But the latter broke with him in 1980, and since then the rift has widened. Today Buthelezi alternates between denouncing the ANC-in-exile for "seeking a bloody showdown," and calling imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela his friend. The Zulu chief consistently attacks the United Democratic Front (UDF), the nonracial coalition of labor, church, and service organizations that has spearheaded the increasingly unified opposition to Pretoria's policies. He has frequently castigated Archbishop Desmond Tutu (even after the latter intervened bodily to save his life when militant youths attacked Buthelezi at the funeral of Pan Africanist Congress leader Robert Sobukwe). His long speeches almost always dwell on slights he has suffered at the hands of his enemies.

Buthelezi has denounced as an ANC front the 500,000 member Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), which together with the Council of Unions of South Africa and Azanian Conferation of Trade Unions engineered the well-coordinated May 1 work stoppage of some 2.5 million workers and students. Piqued by the success of COSATU, Buthelezi chose to inaugurate his own United Workers' Union of South Africa (UWUSA). There was no subtlety about the new union's aims: coffins marked "COSATU" were exhibited at a rally in Durban.



It will be interesting to observe UWUSA. A detailed working paper by the Lutheran World Ministries' Community Resource and Information Center (CRIC) suggests that Inkatha fears the development of a revolutionary class-consciousness on the part of the organized working class. Inkatha's theme has been that the political domain belongs to it, while workers should confine themselves to economic issues.

A favorite refrain among Whites in South Africa and abroad is that Buthelezi consistently eschews violence. The fact is that Buthelezi has praised Inkatha vigilantes for beating up students who dared to be critical of his movement. He has subtly incited Inkatha members to use force against UDF organizers in areas he considers his turf. The CRIC study describes similar violence and threats of violence against activist clergy, and concludes that while Inkatha condemns violence as a means of overthrowing the government, it is prepared to use such means in crushing opposition to itself.

Buthelezi and his Inkatha movement are a force to be reckoned with in South Africa. But in the last two years of violence, as the West and Pretoria have dragged their feet, the hour hand has advanced considerably. Today, young urban Blacks are in no mood for moderation, and Buthelezi's power has diminished. Nelson Mandela, on the other hand, remains the one figure who might yet create some kind of relative stability in South Africa. He would welcome back exiles into active roles, engaging a spectrum of South Africans in a discussion of open politics. Eventually, a new leadership would emerge. Buthelezi may be realistic enough to see that he is no match for Mandela, that he would be lucky to survive with some post in a black majority government. But he may still be nourishing his dream of becoming South Africa's first black president. Notwithstanding his tattered credentials with Blacks, the white power structures in South Africa and the West could continue to push him toward center stage. It is possible they could even impose such a leadership in the near future. But it would last but a short time. Buthelezi would wear the stigma attached to the "Internal settlement" worked out in Zimbabwe/Rhodesia in 1977, between then-President Ian Smith and three African leaders (who subsequently became known as "the three blacksmiths"). The settlement excluded the two guerrilla armies led by Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, and while Bishop Abel Muzorewa became president in 1979, it soon became clear that he could not end the war. It was Mugabe's election in 1980 that finally brought some semblance of peace to the country.

MARJORIE HOPE & JAMES YOUNG

(Marjorie Hope and James Young are the authors of The South African Churches in a Revolutionary Situation [*Orbis*], *and most recently* The Faces of Homelessness *published by Lexington Books.)*

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Of several minds: *David R. Carlin, Jr.*

VOCATIONS TO THE LAITY

ABUNDANCE FOR HARVEST

RECENTLY I spent a stimulating weekend in Chicago attending a symposium with the somewhat less than catchy title of "National Consultation on the Laity in the World — the American Experience." This gathering — which was organized under lay, not clerical, auspices — viewed itself as a prolegomenon to the October 1987 synod of bishops that will be deliberating in Rome on the condition of the Catholic laity.

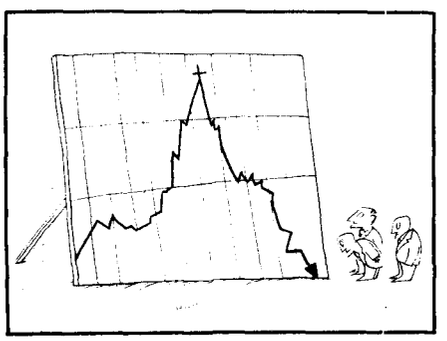
The premise of the Chicago meeting was that secular occupations have a religious dimension and that the religious calling of Catholics, therefore, is not simply to clerical and semi-clerical occupations but to worldly occupations as well. This follows in an almost logical manner from the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers — an old Catholic doctrine that, until just the other day, had lain for centuries in a back room of the museum of dogmatic antiquities.

If we view the church as having two classes of citizenship hierarchically related to one another, priest and other clerical types being first-class citizens and the laity second-class, then the best a lay person can do is to give a kind of feeble imitation of the clerical life in those few hours of a busy week that he or she can steal from worldly occupations. Such worldly occupations, though they have at times been cloaked with religious sanctions (for instance, through the patron saints of medieval guilds), have no intrinsic religious significance. There are callings to the priestly life; there are even callings to the lay life, as to a kind of inferior clergy; but there can be no callings to the life of carpentry or farming or law.

But given the newer conception of a church having a single level of citizenship, a church in which clergy and laity are equal in dignity though distinct in function, it no longer makes sense to say that God calls some people to be priests while not calling others to be butchers, bakers, and candlestick makers. If there are such things as vocations at all, then there must be vocations to secular as well as to clerical careers.

This is not simply a matter of logical deduction. It is a matter of felt experience as well. In the post-World War II era, American Catholicism has produced vast numbers of college-educated professionals and near-professionals, who experience their occupations not simply as ways of making a living but as intrinsically meaningful activities. They don't just work to live; to a great extent, they live to work. If Catholicism cannot incorporate this newly discovered meaningfulness, to that degree Catholicism loses its relevance for such persons.

In the nineteenth century, prophets of the eventual disappearance of religion (Comte and Engels, for instance) said this withering away of faith would be brought about by advances in science and technology. As humankind became more knowing and powerful, it would have less and less need to call on God to fill in the gaps in its knowledge and power. Up to a point this may explain the relative decline of religion over the past few centuries. But far more of the decline has been caused, I submit, by the creation of new, extra-religious sources of meaning. Among the most powerful of these new sources has been the greatly ramified world of modern work, at least to the degree that this work has been intellectually and morally challenging. In the modern person's search for meaning, life's center of gravity has increasingly shifted away from the supernatural and towards the workplace. Unless it can somehow co-opt the world of work, introducing, in a kind of incarnational manner, the beyond into the office, factory, and laboratory, religion will continue to drift further and further away from the center, towards the periphery of life.



The importance and urgency of this task for American Catholicism is exceeded only by its difficulty. In particular, there are three great obstacles that stand in the way of its realization.

First, the social class factor. While middle- and upper-middle-class occupations may be experienced as intrinsically meaningful and valuable, this is not true of most working-class occupations. Engineers and college professors may live to work; file clerks and janitors generally work to live. For the higher classes, work is an end in itself; for the lower, it is a means to an end. With all due respect to Ronald McDonald, it is difficult to see how even the most resourceful theologian will demonstrate that God calls adults to the making of Big Macs and Chicken McNuggets.

Second, the matter of organizational structures. To Christianize the workplace, it is not enough that the worker bring Christian attitudes to his or her work. To do so in the face of unjust organizational structures — whether these are found in the particular workplace or in the economy at large — would be to practice either voluntary victimhood or hypocritical oppression, depending on whether the Christian in question was on the receiving or the giving end of injustice. It is not even enough to set about reforming organizations with a burning hunger for justice in one's heart. In the world of complex organizations, righteousness combined with ignorance can be a fatal mix. What is required is a moral theology of economic and organi-

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zational life. This will have to be formulated by people who know as much about economics and organizational theory as they do about moral theology.

Finally, the nature of modern society. In a secular society, religion is expected to be kept out of the public and semi-public sphere and confined to the private realm. A religious vocabulary is permitted at home, in church, and in a small number of other settings. It is out of place when discussing the affairs of government, business, or science. In this world of religious privatization and linguistic secularization, it is difficult to see how worldly occupations can even be discussed as religious vocations, let alone exist as such in actual fact.

Connecting religion and work is, you can see, no small order. Whether it will ever be done successfully is doubtful. But gratitude is due to the organizers of the recent Chicago conference. They have at least taken the first step and put the issue on the American Catholic agenda.

DAVID R. CARLIN, JR.

Of several minds: *Abigail McCarthy*

ORCHESTRATED CRISES

THE NEWS WORTH MISSING

NATIONAL network news programs are in danger of disappearing. We read and hear that their time slots on affiliated local stations are being preempted by locally staffed news shows. More and more station owners and managers find themselves unable to resist the prime-time advertising dollar.

Television columnists, professors of communications, and editorial page writers are alarmed. They warn that the loss of the nightly twenty-odd minutes with Dan Rather, Peter Jennings, or Tom Brokaw will mean the decline of the "shared experience" which makes for national unity. They fear that the extensive coverage of world news now made possible by the far-flung network correspondents will disappear and, I suppose, that the conduct of foreign affairs will somehow suffer. (Aren't those grave pronouncements of Rather, those expressions of pained concern by Brokaw, or the information solemnly confided by Jennings essential to the citizen's ability to evaluate events?)

It seems to me that the hegemony of the three network news programs was bound to be destroyed by the proliferation of cable programs in any case. And for those of us who were around for the beginning of network news and saw it peak, its decline began with the retirement of Walter Cronkite and John Chancellor and the side-lining of David Brinkley. I myself defected to the "MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour" and am beginning to be less than faithful to that.

Many of those addicted to the news are finding that the lapses occasioned by vacations or trips abroad scarcely affect them. A glance at the morning headlines, a five-minute newsbreak on the car radio — and they are as in touch as they need to be. When they return to daily viewing they often have a sense of — "Isn't this where I came in?" — having heard it all before. And I would wager that they have begun to wonder, as I have, whether the nightly drumbeat of alarm is good for the nation's nerves.

For all of August and part of September this year I was where it wasn't convenient to turn to the evening news. And, although I dutifully marched into the newspaper shop for the morning papers I had reserved, I didn't always get through them. What shared national experience did I miss? Apparently a crescendo of reports that the drug crisis had reached alarming proportions and was steadily worsening.

The only trouble with that, points out columnist Richard Cohen, was that this barrage obscured some important facts. The air waves were saturated with alarm. Drug addiction is epidemic. Our borders are breached. Our children are at risk. Our safety and security are endangered by those responsible who are drug-addicted. They range from corporate executives to crossing guards. Citizen outrage mounts. Yet, says Cohen, the National Institute on Drug Abuse has evidence that the current cocaine epidemic has already peaked and the use of other drugs is declining. But "the statistics are not allowed to intrude on its broader message, which is that there is a worsening crisis."

The fear engendered by this kind of reporting is so great, Cohen adds, that Americans seem willing to surrender cherished civil liberties to fight a battle they are already winning. There is reason for concern, yes, but not panic. Unfortunately, this is only one example of the way in which competing journalists ignore complexity and amplify stories beyond reasonable limits.

Shared experience, as the networks transmit it, is all too often the New York experience or, as the celebration of the Statue of Liberty demonstrated so dismayingly, the California/Hollywood experience. The variety and the regional diversity of life, of creativity, and of opinion in these United States are blurred and lost to common knowledge.

We sold an invaluble national resource for a mess of pottage long ago when we turned the marvelous education tool of television over to the networks and their advertisers. We should not be surprised that the second generation of commentators do not have the sense of awe and responsibility that lingered in the work of the first generation. The deterioration of the sense of public service was inevitable in a medium treated as half-business, half-entertainment.

Who knows? If local shows supersede those of the networks, no matter how uneven and amateurish they are, they may well draw on the larger experience and the regional genius of all America and give back to us a sense of ourselves as a nation of communities whose wisdom comes from many sources and whose strength is greatest when we come to reasoned, step-by-step consensus.

ABIGAIL McCARTHY

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No routine smugglers

ERIC JORSTAD

THE SANCTUARY trial in Tucson, Arizona raises tough questions about how we Americans think about the law. One Lutheran pastor told me that the trial is really about law and order. He said he detests some of the sanctuary movement leadership for the way they are "flaunting" that they are breaking the law. Eighteen felony convictions by the Tucson trial jury certainly seem to support this way of thinking about law and order. One jury member was quoted as saying, "The law is the law."

But is there really such a thing as, "the law"? Sure, there is 8 U.S.C. ¶1324 (a), under which the sanctuary workers were convicted. But in fact the law is not so clear, and the sanctuary trial leaves a host of crucial questions unanswered. At stake is how *to interpret* the complex of U.S. laws, international laws, U.S. treaty obligations, First Amendment constitutional rights, and religious ministries, all of which intersect in the case of sanctuary. It will finally be up to the judiciary, ultimately the Supreme Court, to determine the authoritative interpretation of this complex.

First, let's look at the trial itself. On January 14, 1985, a federal grand jury indicted sixteen sanctuary workers on a host of felony charges having to do with transporting, harboring, and smuggling — as well conspiracy to smuggle into the U.S. — undocumented aliens. By the time the Tucson trial began October 22, 1985, charges had been dropped against five of the defendants. The eleven remaining defendants, including two Roman Catholic priests, a nun, a Presbyterian minister and lay church workers, together with their twelve attorneys, sat on one side of the federal district courtroom; Prosecutor Donald M. Reno, Jr., and his assistant sat on the other; with U.S. District Judge Earl H. Carroll presiding between them.

The trial was rancorous from the start. The first week Judge Carroll barred the defense from presenting two of its chief arguments: that the Central Americans helped by the defendants are legally refugees, *not* illegal aliens; and that international law compelled humanitarian assistance to these persons. These were the first of a number of defenses barred by Judge Carroll. The second week the judge barred arguments that the defendants had a "good faith" belief that their actions were legal, and arguments presenting evidence about Central American civil strife or any conditions there. Defense lawyers charged that Judge Carroll was biased, but failed in efforts to have him removed from the case.

The chief government witness was Jesus Cruz, who had infiltrated several of the churches involved with sanctuary. Cruz made over ninety hours of clandestinely tape-recorded conversations, including attending over a dozen times a Bible study for Salvadorans and Guatemalans at Alzona Lutheran Church, Phoenix. A separate civil lawsuit has been filed by Alzona, and other churches involved, against the INS for this infiltration of church ministry without a warrant. Prosecutor Reno decided ultimately to introduce only one, half-hour tape as evidence. The defense speculates that the tapes could have brought the broader issues of motives, international law, Central American conditions, and so forth, into the trial in a way that might have ultimately benefited the defense. Instead, Cruz took the witness stand. His testimony and challenges to his credibility occupied several weeks; other Central Americans also testified.

After three months of testimony from these government witnesses, Prosecutor Reno rested his case. But then the defense surprised many, by resting their case without calling even one witness. Defense attorneys said that serious flaws in the government's case had led to this decision. One said, "When you're ahead 27 to nothing, why bother playing the fourth quarter?" Another factor was the rulings by Judge Carroll restricting the range of possible arguments and testimony. Another defense lawyer said, "It would have been impossible for the defendants to raise their hands and swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, because the truth is not allowed in this trial."

REVEREND ERIC JORSTAD *is pastor of St. James Lutheran Church, Detroit, and consultant to the Office of Church and Society of The American Lutheran Church. He has published widely on the sanctuary movement.*

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In his closing argument, Reno said that although several immigration laws may seem "unfair," it would pose a "threat to society" to let the defendants get away with violating them with impunity. What we have "is the law of the land, and there is no exception to it." He argued that "good motive is not a defense to intentional acts of crime."

The defense attorneys argued in closing, however, that the defendants had acted as religious people following the teachings of their churches. They claimed that the moral and religious issues, barred from testimony, had to be considered, and, further, that U.S. refugee law provides safe haven for anyone with a "well-founded fear of persecution."

The judge's instructions to the jury are likely to be one point on appeal. He asked the jurors to focus simply on whether certain acts were committed, and whether such acts violate the law — instructions more narrowly focused than usual, more so than even the prosecution had requested.

Eight of the eleven defendants were found guilty on one or more charges. Sister Darlene Nicgorski, with five felonies, faced a possible twenty-five years in prison [See "Testament in Tucson," May 9]. The others faced from a possible five- to a possible fifteen-year prison sentence.

The comments from the jurors following the convictions are enlightening:

> We didn't walk out of there feeling good. I just feel really bad about the whole thing. I think it was unanimous that we didn't want to find these people guilty.
>
> I sympathize with [the defendants], and I don't necessarily agree with the laws . . . but if the facts were staring us in the face, we had to go with them.
>
> They're good people. This was not pleasant; it was painful.

One juror said she felt that some of the defendants' actions were illegal, and so had to be found guilty, but understood these actions had been "compelled" because Central Americans are so rarely granted asylum. "I don't know what they should have done," she said. "I don't have the answer."

It is precisely that uncertainty which now looms over this case as the impact of the trial is assessed and as the case moves toward appeal. Ostensibly the law has been shown to have been broken. But how should we interpret the broader legal, moral, and religious issues still at stake in the actions of the defendants?

Prosecutor Reno has his interpretation. "I am pleased that the American system of justice functions the way that we hoped it would," he said. "And thank God for the jury."

William Johnston, district director of the INS in Tucson, said the convictions show that the law is working. He went on, "If somebody breaks the law, guilt or innocence doesn't depend on the direction of his collar. You can't hide behind a clerical collar."

On the other hand, Governor Toney Anaya of New Mexico, who has declared his state a sanctuary for Central Americans, responded with encouragement to the defendants. "History teaches," Anaya said, "that oftentimes people must serve time in jail before even a society that is as open and compassionate as ours can change a policy that is not being carried out justly." The state of New Mexico and over twenty U.S. cities (as large as Rochester, New York, and Minneapolis, Minnesota) have declared sanctuary.

Not surprisingly, the sanctuary workers convicted are more resolute than ever. "It's only going to make people more committed," said Philip Willis-Conger of Tucson. Sister Nicgorski said, "I have no regrets at all. I feel more of a sadness for what is happening to our country than I do for me personally." Father Quinones of Nogales, Mexico said, "I can't repent because [then] I would be sorry [for] being a Christian." Jim Corbett was himself acquitted, but he was shocked by the convictions of the others: "Sanctuary will continue and will outlast all trials." Willis-Conger summed up, "Historically, people of faith who have been persecuted for doing what is right have, in the long run, won out. I'm sure that will be true here." The actual sanctuary work of the underground railroad in Tucson and elsewhere is not only continuing, but growing.

Whoever wins in the long run, the immediate next step for the convicted sanctuary workers is to appeal their case to the Ninth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals. If, as the judge, the prosecutors, and the jurors seem to agree, the *trial* was about the observable facts of the case, the *appeal* will likely center on how to interpret the law applicable to these facts. No briefs have been filed yet for the appeal. What follows is based on interviews with several defendants, an attorney from the five-member appellate committee for the defense, a professor of immigration law, a State Department human rights official, and my own legal research.

Points for appeal include three broader areas of legal interpretation and four particular procedural issues from the trial which, while narrower, are significant, and perhaps more likely, bases for a favorable appeal ruling.

FIRST, consider the issues of legal interpretation. (1) Applicability of International Law. Under the U.S. Constitution, Art. VI, Section 2, treaties are considered part of "the supreme law of the land." Two treaties are relevant here. The first is the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Civilian Persons in Time of War. This binds its signatories to the principle known by the French term, *non-refoulement*, which prohibits the deportation of a refugee back into active hostilities or into a country where his/her life of freedom will be threatened "on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion." Sanctuary workers claim that the INS is breaking this obligation by deporting Central Americans back to their home countries, chiefly to El Salvador and Guatemala. The work of sanctuary, then, is actually upholding international law, and the convictions should therefore be reversed. A second U.S. treaty obligation, the 1967 United Nations Protocol on the Status of Refugees, similarly indicts current INS practice by this argument.

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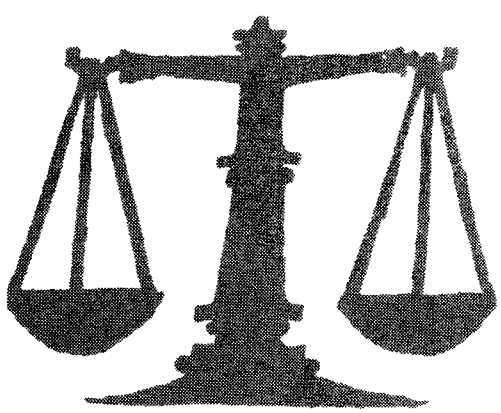
Unanswered questions here include whether treaties are "self-executing," binding simply by being signed, or whether they require congressional enactment. Are federal courts obligated to rule under international law by means of these treaties? Another question is whether international law can confer rights on individuals, as is required here for this to be a successful point on appeal, or whether it imposes obligations only on national governments. Can U.S. courts recognize individual rights as defined by international law? Or can the defendants argue that their actions were really helping the government fulfill *its* obligation of *non-refoulement*?

(2) Application of 1980 U.S. Refugee Act. Passed before Central American refugees became an issue, this act makes two relevant changes in U.S. law. First, it strikes the clause which previously presumed asylum protection for those "fleeing Communism or communist-dominated countries." This brings U.S. refugee law in accord with our international treaty obligations (see above), so that asylum is determined not by foreign policy (anti-Communism) but by humanitarian concern (for anyone genuinely persecuted). Second, this Act prohibits the attorney general from deporting a genuine refugee regardless of how he/she entered the country.

This act is relatively recent so there have been few higher court rulings as to its interpretations. Is the determination of refugee status, by statute a responsibility of the attorney general in consultation with the State Department, a finding which can be challenged by citizens through the federal courts? Is it criminal to harbor or transport persons who, one sincerely believes, face a strong probability of life-threatening deportation at the hands of the INS in violation of the spirit if not the letter of the 1980 Refugee Act? One difficulty here is that the sanctuary defendants are asking *the same judiciary* that decides appeals on individual asylum cases to rule that these very decisions show a pattern of violating the 1980 Refugee Act. The Ninth Circuit Court would in essence be ruling against its own past practice in asylum cases if it ruled for the defendants here.

(3) First Amendment Protections. The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution protects the free exercise of religion. The question on appeal will be whether Judge Carroll properly excluded from testimony the religious motivation of the defendants. Contrary to Prosecutor Reno's claims, a routine smuggling operation does not contain two priests, one nun, and a minister, nor does it claim a religious purpose for its work. Should religion be an admissible defense here?



The U.S. Supreme Court has recognized that the First Amendment embraces two concepts — freedom to believe and freedom to act. The first is absolute but, in the nature of things, the second cannot be. The courts must balance the freedom of religious conduct against a compelling government interest in limiting such actions which pose a substantial threat to public safety, peace, or order. In a federal district court in Texas, Judge Head ruled against the motion of Jack Elder, a sanctuary worker, to have charges dismissed on First Amendment grounds. The judge wrote: "Elder's do-it-yourself immigration policy, while charitable, gives away what is not his to give — the government's legitimate right to examine every person who enters the country so that the government can make informed decisions on who will be admitted" [601 F.Supp.1574 (1985)]. Religious motivation was inadequate in the balance against the "legitimate goals of immigration control." The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals is not bound by this decision, however, in the current appeal.

Apart from the possible outcome of the balancing test in the sanctuary case, was the judge proper in not allowing such evidence even to be considered?

THIS leads us to issues of procedure. (1) Instructions to the jury. As indicated earlier, Judge Carroll's instructions to the jury were particularly narrowly focused. He placed all consideration given to the defendants' goals, motives, or knowledge of the meaning of their actions within the more restricted notion of "general intent," which is required of all crimes and can be inferred from actions alone. The law being applied, however, 8 U.S.C. ¶1324(a), has a "specific intent" requirement. To be convicted, a person must *know* that he/she is assisting someone who is illegally in this country. Did the defendants know this? Or was their knowledge based upon a belief that the U.S. is the legitimate safe haven needed by those they assisted? Did they then have the requisite *mens rea*, "guilty mind," that is, specific criminal intent? The jury was not allowed to consider this.

The judge also disqualified jury consideration of a defense argument from necessity or compulsion. The defense was prepared to show that had the Central Americans reported at the border, they would have been summarily deported; so that transporting them was a necessity to give them any chance at safe haven. Some jurors later commented that they knew asylum applications were not being accepted at the border. Yet these possible defenses were excluded from jury deliberation.

(2) Conduct of the Court. The trial was particularly acrimonious, with the defense trying four times to have Judge Carroll disqualify himself. One defendant said, "I felt that we were assumed to be guilty, according to the judge, and had to prove ourselves innocent." Was the court biased? This will likely be an issue on appeal.

(3) Selective Prosecution. Were these defendants selected for prosecution because of their public dissent from INS policy? What about the hundreds of *employers* who knowingly

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hire undocumented Salvadorans and Guatemalans, of whom not one has been prosecuted for felonies as have the sanctuary defendants?

(4) Evidence. The validity of the testimony of the government's informer, Jesus Cruz, is a matter of contention. Apparently the prosecution conceded on record that Cruz's evidence was necessary to establish its case. Yet Cruz infiltrated church activities, wearing a tape recorder, without a warrant. Bible studies, Sunday morning worship services, personal conversations assumedly with a fellow Christian believer — all became criminal evidence. But if on appeal his evidence is found to be inadmissible, then a new trial, without Cruz, would become necessary.

In addition, the undercover operation was first launched with materials seized from Philip Willis-Conger that were ruled improperly obtained. On July 20, 1984, U.S. District Court Judge Alfredo Marquez ruled that the border patrol did not have a reasonable suspicion to stop the car Willis-Conger had been driving. Materials seized by the arresting officers, however, including documents with comprehensive information about the sanctuary network nationwide, were used by the government to begin the investigation which led to the sixteen sanctuary indictments.

In conclusion, it is not clear that the government has increased respect for law and order by its prosecution of the sanctuary workers. On the one hand, the sanctuary movement continued to grow during the government's earlier "let's keep quiet about this" approach. On the other hand, all the attention on the court case has only broadened the movement's impact, and seen its numbers expand even more. After the trial Willis-Conger said, "The government was in a no-win position. If they took us to trial and lost, they would have looked foolish. If they won, they spent $2 million to publicize our movement." He concluded, "People of faith won't be intimidated by the verdict."

The case is certainly sufficiently complex that it will generate a great deal of commentary in the coming months and years. And the flow of undocumented Central Americans shows no sign of going away either. One wishes there were a less polarized resolution available than the current no-win; a resolution constructed by a wise, humanitarian, and policy-minded judiciary — which we have yet to see on this case. One hopes for a helpful public debate, meanwhile, on how to interpret the meaning of this complex called "the law": diverse laws, human rights, international law, the Constitution, people in need, and citizens acting in good faith.

UNITY, CONTINUITY, & THE CHURCH

The 'infallible' temptation

SEBASTIAN MOORE

THIS SUMMER, a colleague at Downside, Dom Gregory Murray, lent and strongly recommended to me a book that has so far drawn little or no attention: *Towards Christian Reunion* by Luis M. Bermejo, S.J. (Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, Anand, India, 1984). My purpose in what follows is to give, in the barest outline, Bermejo's thesis, and then to discuss the main problem that it raises. It is this discussion that will form the body of my article, which is thus not a review of this very substantive work.

The thesis is as follows. Why has the ecumenical movement lost its vigor? What seems to be the main block is the doctrine of papal infallibility, together with the notion that the pope has universal jurisdiction over the church. This suggests an examination of these two doctrines. How have they come to be part and parcel of Catholic belief? Their logical basis is as follows. First, all general councils are infallible, as regards their solemn decrees. Now Vatican I was a general council. And Vatican I solemnly defined the infallibility and universal jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff. It follows, "as the night the day," that the pope *is* infallible and possessed of universal jurisdiction.

With an impressive assembling of the historical evidence, however, Bermejo shows that general councils never were regarded as infallible. Although the main results of the first councils are enshrined in the various creeds that are of the substance of our faith, *the way in which this came to pass* was not. It was not that a universally recognized body of bishops issued decrees that all accepted because of its authority to pronounce on matters of faith. It was, rather, that a body of bishops deliberated on a critical issue and reached a consensus, the content of which *was eventually received* by the whole church, in a complex process, not without conflict, that could take a century or so to complete.

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Thus a vital constituent of the final result is the positive recognition of it, by the whole church, as "what we believe." This recognition is creative and contributory. It is not passive. It is travestied in the later analysis of the process that distinguishes between the teaching church, *ecclesia docens*, and the learning church, *ecclesia discens*. Thus, to describe the process as one of infallible pronouncement and consequently passive reception is fatally to distort history. It didn't happen that way. The Holy Spirit is a lot subtler than that.

It follows from this that the major premise for Vatican I's two doctrines about the pope is not true, so that papal infallibility and universal jurisdiction cannot be derived, as they are said to be derived, from the theory and praxis of the church in her first millennium that saw the first seven ecumenical councils.

Further, Vatican I's attempt to derive the doctrines from the Petrine texts in the Gospels is as unsatisfactory exegetically as its attempt to derive them from history is unhistorical.

The question now is: If Bermejo is correct, what is left? My intuitive answer is "My Catholic faith, whole and entire — feeling rather the better for the removal of an incubus." But this wants a lot of spelling out — which is the main purpose of my article.

Bermejo's devastating historical critique of conciliar and papal infallibility, as these issues were handled by Vatican I, forces me as a Catholic to ask the questions: Is there any sense in which the church in communion with Rome is the one true church? Or may a Catholic, coherently with being a Catholic, regard his or her church simply as one of the fragments of a divided Christianity?

The answer to the first question would seem to be yes, and the answer to the second, in consequence, no. The claim to be the one true church is as organic to the Roman communion as the congregational principle is organic to some other Christian churches. Take it away, and the Roman church loses its identity, and thus, paradoxically, its capacity to contribute to the ecumenical dialogue.

The real lesson of Vatican II's spirit of ecumenism for Roman Catholics is that the claim to be the one true church is far more modest in its content and scope than has been supposed. It does not refer to a superior wisdom or to a deeper grasp of the mystery of Christ and of his Spirit. It does not ground a philosophy that would direct our approach to morality and politics. It does not exempt us from looking outside the Catholic church for vital insights into the mysteries of faith.

What then *does* it refer to, this claim to be the one true church? The word that immediately springs to mind is continuity. But continuity in what? Not, clearly, in "apostolic succession," the ability to trace one's lineage back to the beginnings.

Here is a suggestion. The continuity is in belief in "the whole thing." *Belief* in the whole thing, not *being* the whole thing. Endemic and intrinsic to the Roman church is the certainty that all are called into a "perfect society," the Kingdom of God, the fullness of Christ, and that the Roman church represents the difference between this call as the ultimate human reality and this call as a mere aspiration. The church makes the call, the destiny, concrete, but *not* by realizing it, not by *being* the new Jerusalem. But if not by being it, what? Once again, the meaning of the one true church eludes us.

LET us take another tack. One thing that tends to be supposed by all reflective Christians is that the church was originally one, before "our sad divisions" took place. But no such original community as we thus nostalgically look back to is to be found in what we know of Christian origins. It has always amazed me, as a "born Catholic," that Paul did not get together with the leaders at Jerusalem for fifteen years after his conversion. For him the authority he felt bound by was the authority of his experience — as with Luther.

What we seem to have at the beginning are various experiences, individual and group, of the risen Jesus in the Spirit, which impelled people toward each other *with* their respective slants on the experience. Read between the lines, the New Testament is a record of profound divisions in a new and passionate faith. The Letter of James, for instance, is surely having a crack at the Paul people with their emphasis on faith as the be-all and end-all. The unity the first Christians sought was just that, something sought. It lay in the future, not in an original constitution. The paradigm for Christian origins is not the founding of a society or the constitution of a religious order. Christian unity is supernatural in its source, and thus imperfectly realized.

The above consideration seems relevant to the question of the meaning of one true church. While continuity is perhaps the salient feature in the appropriate Roman claim, the unity that it is the role of the church to represent is in the future rather than in the past. It is not that the unity the church *once had* it *still has* — in the Roman communion. The point is that the unity toward which the Spirit of Christ impels all humanity *must already* be present in our time, be manifest, in some form, however exiguous and hard to discern because of sin. Our thinking about unity thus moves from "long-established fact," through "aspiration for the future," to "aspiration with some present referent or sign."

This power of Rome to *signify* a final unity has inspired people, outside as well as inside the Roman communion, to "project" a splendid, noble human world, sometimes a splendid synthesis in thought like Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae*. This is the theme of Rosemary Haughton's book *The Catholic Thing*. Haughton finds this "bug" for unity and communion in people as diverse as Pascal and Bernadette of Lourdes. The most serious confusion is between this Rome-inspired world-building and an imagined mandate for the papacy to realize, through an authority cashed out in jurisdiction, this fuller humanity in the world. The qualitative difference between the visionary *Summa Theologiae* and a papal encyclical claiming universal jurisdiction is vast, although the *Summa* is subtly indebted to what Rome signifies.

I suggest that this confusion between *sign* of the new unity of all in Christ and *effector* of that unity through rule constitutes an identity problem that the papacy has had to wrestle

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with throughout its history and especially in modern times. We can, in fact, trace in history a swing in papal policy between the poles of modesty and inflated claim.

The history of the Modernist crisis is instructive in this regard. Catholic scholars were facing anew and belatedly the massive problem of understanding Christian belief as participants in our modern scientific culture. The problem called for all the resources of faith and scholarship and culture, wherever these might be found. It was no part of Rome's charism to provide a "solution." To imagine so would be to inflate the papacy from sign of the unity of all in Christ to achiever of that unity (for the faithful) by fiat. Unfortunately this is what Pius X tried to do by the encyclical *Pascendi*. He *pronounced* on the new and delicate questions being raised by scholars. In fact he pronounced them to be non-questions. In all but name, he condemned Newman. He thus set Catholic scholarship back fifty years, at a time when it needed to catch up by a least that amount of time.

But the point is not to emphasize the papal mistake, but to try to indicate its source in Rome's struggle to find its identity. That identity is a subtle one: to make present the future unity of all in Christ in a world torn apart by sin. To maintain that identity requires a high tolerance of ambiguity — the simultaneous sense of being at the center and of being powerless to change many situations seen to be destructive. It is a position most vulnerable to that detester of ambiguity, the ideologue. The combination of the papal position with the influence of ideology is very dangerous. And they easily come together. The "fit" is as follows.

The facts are overwhelmingly against the notion that the problem of the church in the world can be solved by the existence and exercise of jurisdiction. But the ideologue is essentially one who is not confused or deterred by facts. Under his touch, the unique position of the pope in the church is used to make universally mandatory a theological system detached from history — what Michael Novak memorably called "nonhistorical orthodoxy." Thus the *temptation* inherent in the papacy to become a hegemony, regardless of the complexities of a widespread church, finds ready-to-hand a *mentality* that swallows up the empirical reality in a Grand Idea. One could trace the ebb and flow of this ideological influence in the conduct of the papacy. When, for instance, Benedict XV succeeded to anti-Modernist Pius X, one of his first statements was that it suffices to be "Catholic"; no further adjective is necessary. He was referring to words such as "integral," much favored by the opponents of Modernism. With this quiet statement he signaled the end of a period dominated by ideology.

LET me recall the question I started with, and elaborate it somewhat. Is there a sense in which a Catholic has to call his or her church the one true church, such that to drop this description is, paradoxically, to withdraw the Catholic church from the ecumenical dialogue by denying its identity? Put this way, the question brings things to a head. Wrongly understood, the "one true church" description ends the dialogue. Rightly understood, it is essential to it. Are we any closer to the correct understanding?

What I am suggesting is some such definition as: The one true church shows the promised unity of all people in Christ as more than simply an aspiration. It anticipates, however inadequately, that final condition. It concretizes that hope. It represents a world that, once entered by Christ, will never be let off the hook of the dangerous and beautiful thing he lived and died and rose again for. This will never be allowed to translate the promise of Jesus into a mere aspiration. Out of Jesus came something that we can point to, a community with structure and authority. But *how* the structured community anticipates the end-time is a daunting question. The very concreteness of the visible Roman Catholic church underlines its poverty as sign of the end-time. So there is a tension at the heart of this idea of the one true church. But not for the ideologue. The idea does not daunt him. It encourages his world-embracing aspirations. A major task for contemporary Catholicism is to free itself from the ideological temptation.

The ideological inflation of the Roman claim diminishes its power by confusing its charism with worldly power. An appropriate Roman modesty would enhance the real, Gospel power of the church in the world. It would advance the ecumenical dialogue not by compromise but by clarification.

But what *is* an appropriate Roman modesty? I am only concerned here with suggesting what are the grounds for this modesty. I am concerned to clear the notion of the one true church from the heavy overlay in which it has become encrusted, so that there might appear its validity and usefulness in a divided Christianity. For lack of clarity here, Catholics feel faced with the choice between intransigence and indifference. And as historical scholarship progressively exposes the weak foundations of Vatican I, clarification of the meaning of "one true church" becomes an urgent necessity. Brought at last to acknowledge that a dangerously oversimplified understanding of the notion was operative in Vatican I, we need good theological grounds for not abandoning it. Too often we have played the tune badly, and concluded thence that it is a bad tune.

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Catholics & Jews (cont.)

IN ITS September 26 issue Commonweal *published "The Vatican, Israel, & Holy Zion" by F.G. Friedmann, professor emeritus at the University of Munich. The article, a survey of Catholic-Jewish relations, was written, as the author said, from the standpoint of "a Jew who is not a representative of any Jewish organization, but simply a private person." Both* Commonweal *and the author thought it would be valuable to seek reactions to the article from a number of perspectives, Jewish and Christian. Five such responses follow.*

THE EDITORS

Rabbi Andrew Baker

RABBI ANDREW BAKER *is director of the Washington chapter of The American Jewish Committee.*

PROFESSOR Friedmann's admittedly personal review of Catholic-Jewish relations correctly identifies those issues that have drawn the most discussion and controversy in the ongoing dialogue, but he has presented them in such a fashion as to engender only further misunderstanding and distrust.

Criticisms of Israel are not always without merit, but here we have controversial charges presented as though they are accepted facts. The passing references to Israeli arms sales to South Africa, maltreatment of Palestinians by Israeli authorities, and an Israeli obsession for security could be challenged at length and refuted. Here they are offered casually, with their primary intention to negate or diminish any moral or ethical claim made by the Jewish state.

Contrast this with the remarkably understated criticism of the church for being "slow and cautious" in reacting to the Nazis' treatment of the Jews and "slow and cautious" in "expressing its regrets" after the destruction was completed. Christian complicity in the Holocaust? It is to Friedmann as though the church were simply a bit tardy in sending a sympathy note.

Church statements that speak of a common Jewish and Christian purpose in a "love of the same God" and in "tending towards a like end in the future" are cited throughout as examples of the church's new brotherly spirit. Friedmann urges that they should have been "welcomed." He's mistaken if he imagines they were (and are) not. Yet we should also acknowledge they do not erase the past, and they do not speak directly to our still uncommon present.

But the author's charge is more than one of ingratitude. Instead, he points to "Jewish demands for ever new confessions of guilt to be made by the Christian churches," but offers no citation or example. Many Jewish organizations have called for people to remember the Holocaust and its historical lessons — and the Holy See itself has recently issued just such a call — but none has demanded a "confession of guilt."

We can agree that the modern state of Israel is not "holy Zion, the Zion at the end of all time," without reducing it to just a "secular state dominated by Jews." Even the Reform Movement in Judaism (which fifty years ago declared America to be "our Zion") now speaks in its liturgy of a "new light dawning" in the land of Israel. The diaspora has not disappeared with the creation of Israel, but that does not make Israel just another settlement of Jews. To characterize their relationship as one where the diaspora gives money, while in return diaspora Jews receive a "boost to their self-confidence," is untrue and insulting. Israel is a refuge for Jews that need help, but it is also a repository of Jewish history and the recognized center for Jewish study and culture. Israel is nurtured by diaspora Jewry, but it offers a special nurturing in return.

What of Vatican diplomatic recognition of Israel? Virtually all Jews (and many Catholics) would see it as an appropriate and overdue acknowledgment by the church of the role Israel plays in the spiritual and physical life of modern Jewry. But to Friedmann, it would "constitute only a moral boost by emphasizing the righteousness of the Zionist cause," as though such a reason should be beneath our consideration. Perhaps he forgets that at a time when Arab propagandists and anti-Western forces have united in support of the calumny that Zionism is a form of racism, such a "moral boost" would be most welcome.

However, this must be balanced, we are told, by the church's responsibility for "safeguarding the interests of Catholics living in the vast Muslim world," which apparently would be jeopardized by Vatican recognition of Israel. Still, Friedmann allows that diplomatic relations would be possible if the church were to "persuade" Israel to return to the pre-1967 borders, a move, by the way, that not even relevant U.N. resolutions demand.

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Are these the normal "preconditions" for Vatican recognition? Might there be an unfair double standard at work here? Or perhaps Professor Friedmann would rather have us believe this to be just another example of "slow and cautious" decision-making.

Robert Gorham Davis

ROBERT GORHAM DAVIS, *educator, author, editor, is professor emeritus at Columbia University.*

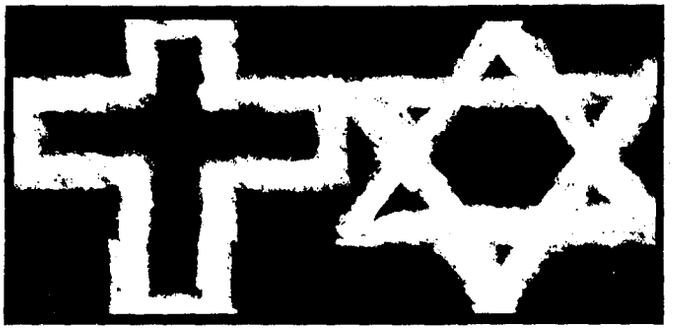
WE ARE all in debt to Dr. Friedmann for his acute analysis — sympathetic yet realistic — of Vatican-Israeli relations, and for his reminder of how they bear upon the fate not only of the Jews of Israel and the diaspora but of the tens of millions of Moslems in the Middle East, and especially Moslems who live under harsh military rule within Israel's expanded borders.

I also was about to say how warmly Christians and non-Christians, theists and non-theists alike, should welcome Dr. Friedmann's insistence on the primacy in all ecumenical discussion of human survival itself. This surely is an issue which affects equally all inhabitants of the planet. If we can achieve some agreement here, other agreements may follow.

Unfortunately, Dr. Friedmann introduces two themes at the end of his argument which are not necessary for his thesis and which would, if insisted on, make such unity far more difficult.

For the nuclear threat which hangs over us he blames the modern mind's "renunciation of God," and would counter technological hubris with a "ratio enlightened by faith." As a secular humanist who loves life and experiences not hubris but awe before the ineluctable mystery of the universe, I have to ask "what kind of faith?" This is not a dismissive question, for I feel close comradeship with those religious groups who out of faith are working for social betterment in the third world and for control of the escalating nuclear arms race.

Far from being rejectors of God, some of the most bellicose and hubristic of our leaders are precisely those who make political capital out of demanding that God be given more official acknowledgment in our national life. He turns out to be, however, not the God of peace, of the Sermon on the Mount, but the God of Jericho and Armageddon.



That is why I also wonder that Dr. Friedmann can assume a ground of unity in the expectation of the coming of Christ or the Messiah, preceded by a period of peace and social justice. In the *Book of Revelation* the Second Coming is preceded by plagues far more ecologically harmful than those of the Exodus and then a great war, centered on Israel, in which heavenly and earthly armies are engaged. Translated into current terms by such immensely popular books as Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth,* the prospect has inflamed many imaginations, including that of Ronald Reagan.

Professor Friedmann thinks that problems of theodicy should be left to theologians. I would say, to the contrary, that theodicy and theology generally should be everyone's concern, and that we should question our leaders as closely about their conception of God and God's intentions for humankind as about their conduct of national affairs. The two can be disastrously related.

Jane Redmont

JANE REDMONT *has been a campus and parish minister, journalist, and active participant in interreligious dialogue. She is working on a book on Catholic women in the United States, to be published by William Morrow.*

"I WONDER what effect the magisterium of the church has on the 'praxis' of its followers," Professor Friedmann writes. I would like to address the assumptions about the role of the magisterium which lie behind the question.

For most Catholics, the teaching of the magisterium is mediated by the local parish community. Very few people are aware of the content of specific church documents, or even of the existence of such documents. Rome is rarely the active authority — the direct educator — in the lives of the laity; clergy and other parish staff and, on occasion, the local bishop, fulfill this role. The picture "out there," then, is a mottled one, in which parish staff play a key part. Professor Friedmann's question brought to mind two parish situations which I have personally experienced in New England:

● Early in the summer, I was visiting a parish in a small town and nearly walked out during a homily filled with statements along the lines of "the Jewish people disobeyed God, but we Christians follow the Gospel, which is love, not law." The sermon was a classic: it used a badly exegeted reading from the Hebrew Bible as a foil for the (equally misinterpreted) Epistle and Gospel readings; it portrayed the people of Israel as having definitively failed God, and made no distinction between ancient Israel and modern Judaism; and it implied, of course, that the Christian covenant supersedes and obliterates the covenant between the Holy One and Israel.

● In a suburban parish I know, the pastor, a man of the same generation as the preacher of the disastrous homily, educated before Vatican II, is active in Christian-Jewish dialogue on the

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local and regional levels; he has taught his parishioners from the pulpit and in the classroom that Judaism is a living religion and that the Hebrew Bible is more than an "old Testament." He has encouraged schools in his region to offer a curriculum on the Holocaust. He takes responsibility for his own continuing education.

"The magisterium and its followers" is not, despite the critical role of church leadership, an accurate way of representing Roman Catholic reality, or in particular, the way change occurs in the Catholic church. The magisterium is sometimes "ahead" of the majority of believers — and sometimes not. It does take prophetic positions, but more often than not, change begins at the grassroots and the magisterium follows, sometimes reluctantly. In the area of Catholic-Jewish relations, the magisterium has taken the lead. But in this area as in other areas of our common life — liturgical renewal, teachings on social and economic matters — the picture is not nearly as simple as the statement about "leaders and followers" implies. Roman Catholic reality is, in practice, infinitely more messy.

Often the causes and the signs of change appear neither in church documents nor in churches. Take, for instance, the friendship factor. Though neighborhoods and workplaces are still divided along religious and ethnic lines throughout the U.S., many are not, and there Catholics and Jews meet, talk, and work together. We have worked and argued and celebrated together in the civil rights and peace movements and in more traditional party politics. Our conversations may not always touch on Catholic-Jewish relations or on religion, but in these varied settings we form bonds of respect, trust, and collegiality.

In other words, there are factors besides church teachings and contexts other than church life which affect the attitudes of Catholics toward Jews today. I remember several Catholic college students telling me, during my years as a campus minister, about their relationships with Jewish roommates. These students asked one another candid questions about their beliefs and practices; occasionally visited each other's houses of worship; and discussed without inhibition interreligious dating and marriage. In none of the cases I know did these encounters dilute or destroy any student's sense of identity as a Catholic or a Jew; on the contrary, each was challenged to articulate religious values and community identity more clearly. There is more freedom and joy in the dialogue; there is also an urgency of a different sort, as younger Jews and Catholics speak to each other and to their elders about issues which they all face: the changing roles of men and women, an uncertain economic situation, and the cloud of the nuclear threat.

I spent half of the summer traveling in four Midwestern states, conducting interviews for a book on Catholic women in U.S. society. Some of the questions concerned our topic: What do you think of people who aren't Catholic — Protestant and Orthodox Christians; Jews; Muslims? Is Catholicism superior to their religions? Are we better than they? Does God love us more and love them less?

Except for the youngest among them, these women were raised on *extra ecclesiam nulla salus* [outside the church there is no salvation]. All but 2 of the 33 women I interviewed answered my questions without a trace of triumphalism, giving some version of this answer: "There are different paths to God, and other peoples' are no less valid than my own. What matters is the way that people treat their neighbors. I don't want Protestants or Jews to become Catholics, and I don't think my way is better than theirs, just because it happens to be the way for me."

Granted, this is a very small sample. It is, nevertheless, a diverse one, including all levels of income and education and a variety of lifestyles from dairy farmer to urban single working mother to suburban homemaker. The women where Hispanic, white, and black, and varied in their relationship to the institutional church from thoroughly alienated to enthusiastically involved.

How did such a change in attitude occur within a single generation? The teaching of the magisterium on Catholic-Jewish relations [not to mention, ecumenism] has, in some way — usually indirectly — reached the laity. Certainly the Second Vatican Council has had a profound influence on the character of life at the grassroots, simply by encouraging among Catholics worldwide a different stance toward difference and diversity: "Other" is no longer evil; uniformity is no longer a paradigm for holiness.

Finally, underlying the friendship factor is the context which has made it possible: the setting of U.S. society with its human diversity, religious liberty, and democratic government. Catholic-Jewish relations here reflect our quirks and gifts and flaws. It looks quite different, and equally distinctive, I am sure, in France, Germany, Tanzania, the Philippines, and Chile.

Judith Banki

JUDITH BANKI *is associate national director of the American Jewish Committee and the editor of the Committee's* Interreligious Newsletter.

PROFESSOR Friedmann's disclaimer of representative status among Jewish organizations is unnecessary. It is clear from his article that he writes as a "private person." While those involved in promoting Catholic-Jewish understanding must always be open to fresh insights and new perspectives, Friedmann's comments seem unlikely to advance such understanding, other than bringing Catholics and Jews together in mutual irritation at his tone of moral superiority toward both.

Friedmann writes about very important matters and has some interesting observations to offer, but he seems to miss the main point in most places along the way. For starters, if the teaching that Christians who sin knowingly are more responsible for the death of Christ than the Jews are — in Friedmann's words — a formulation "which raises . . . new and awkward

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questions," it has done so since the Council of Trent (1545-1563) from whose Catechism these words are drawn and from which they are invoked in the 1985 Vatican "Notes. . . ."

Whether the attitudes of everyday Catholics — what Friedmann calls "praxis" — have caught up with recent theological and catechetical rethinking about Jews and Judaism is, of course, a critical question. Granted that popular attitudes may frequently depart from official church positions, one may question the amount of effort expended to bring them into line. If the hierarchy in some parts of the world had pursued the dissemination of the new attitude toward Jews and Judaism with the vigor and determination that it has pressed the church's position on abortion, for example, there would surely be less of the kind of superstitious ignorance Friedmann records. Other instances abound.

Friedmann questions whether historical events such as the Holocaust might have motivated changed attitudes toward Jews and Judaism. Is he implying that such changes are suspect because history is intruding on theology? Yet theological development has never been spawned in a historical vacuum. How could the Holocaust *not* have stirred a re-examination of traditional Christian teachings?

It is in his writings about Israel that Friedmann seems to go widest of the mark. The validity and vitality of Jewish existence in the diaspora; the fact that important events took place in Jewish history when there was no Jewish state; the fact that the present State of Israel, like all nation-states, is less than perfect — all this is beside the point. The point is that the State of Israel, warts and all, is testimony to the Jewish people's determination to control a piece of their own destiny through sovereign control of a piece of land. Yet the great majority of the Arab Middle East has denied Israel's right to that existence and to that sovereignty. The withholding of full and formal diplomatic recognition of Israel by the Vatican may lend credence to the claim by rejectionist Arab states that Israel's very existence is illegitimate.

The Vatican has full diplomatic relations with imperfect states, with states that have border disputes with other states also recognized by the Vatican, and with states much tougher on their Catholic populations than Israel. While Catholic-Jewish relations and Vatican-Israel relations are not the same thing and can be separately considered, full diplomatic recognition would place the church squarely behind the legitimacy of Israel's existence — not behind any particular solution to border problems. (Incidentally, what angered Jews so much about the treatment of Israel in the "Notes" was *not* the document's claim that Israel should be envisaged "in reference to the common principles of international law," but that, once having said that, the document said nothing about Israel's legitimacy according to those very principles.)

Concern about the fate of vulnerable Catholic minorities in the Arab Middle East is one that can be sympathetically understood by Jews who, after all, have vulnerable minorities in several places and who can resonate to arguments of prudence. It should not be forgotten that similar threats of retaliation were made during Vatican Council II when *Nostra Aetate* was under consideration but Christian communities of the Middle East did not suffer for the church's righting of a terrible wrong.

Finally, I am sickened by Friedmann's comparison between Israeli authorities' treatment of Palestinians and the fate of the

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Jews in the Holocaust. First, the facts don't fit. If the German people had mounted a public demonstration opposing Nazi persecution of Jews that brought the same proportion of the public into the streets as Israelis mounted against a possible cover-up of their government's foreknowledge of the massacres of Palestinians by *Lebanese Christians*, there might never have been a final solution. The comparison is obscene.

Kenneth W. Thompson

KENNETH W. THOMPSON *is director of the White Burkett Miller Center of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville. He is associate editor of* The Review of Politics *and the author of several books including* Principles and Problems of International Politics.

THE GREAT virtue of Professor Friedmann's discussion on Catholic-Jewish relations is its renewing of an important ecumenical dialogue in the context of the mid-1980s. As his presentation makes clear, the context of present-day discussion has characteristics that differ from those of the 1950s and 1960s. Especially in the sixties, the emphasis of the dialogue was on social and political issues. Today it has shifted more to religious and historical issues.

Perhaps for that reason, the tone and texture of the discussion is also different. I recall vividly the intensity of the exchange within the Board of Editors of *Christianity and Crisis*. The differences in ecumenical understanding then were mostly between the idealists and the realists or those who saw few obstacles to full ecumenical understanding and cooperation and those who pointed to certain persistent problems in the structure and creeds of the several religious groups. Another difference worth noting was the far greater emphasis on Protestant-Catholic understanding in that moment in history.

Even in the 1950s and 1960s, the key issue was mutuality of interests, an issue which Professor Friedmann raises at several points in his essay. The call for religious tolerance can be a political weapon which the weaker side invokes; it can also be a moral statement. The ecumenical rallying cry may conceal an appeal to self-interest. In the 1970s and 1980s, some parties who have spoken out for religious and political tolerance have been rather narrower in their ecumenical outreach than in earlier years. As political interests place such groups in conflict, their commendable vision of greater harmony and cooperation suffers shipwreck to their immediate political needs.

Some of the discussion of Catholic-Jewish relations, therefore, impresses the outsider as being a little too arcane and abstract to have any profound consequences. It is removed from the difficult arenas of politics where the severest tests occur. The hard issues that divide are left unexplored. The observer wonders if he is being exposed to rhetoric or reality. As Professor Friedmann argues, we need to approach such questions in the context of man's *hubris* and human survival.

Yet the raising of the question is necessary and proper and perhaps long overdue. Catholic thinkers have taken the lead in raising some of the most crucial issues. It is heartening that on this question, if not on all the most urgent world problems, the source of leadership is the Holy Father. Therefore, the possibility of widening and deepening understanding is enhanced. It may be that this papacy will be remembered for a strong and forthright stand on Catholic-Jewish relations. In this, the Holy Father confronts both an opportunity and a challenge which calls for all the vision and persistence of which he is capable to make concrete what is yet a notable proclamation. In turn, Jewish leaders must reach out to meet halfway the efforts to give life to more enlightened practices as well as understanding.

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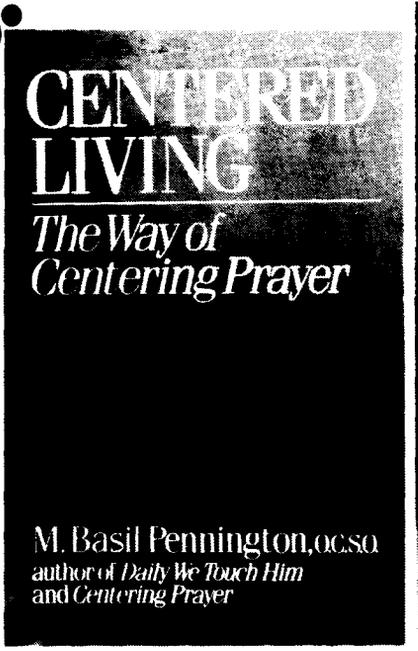

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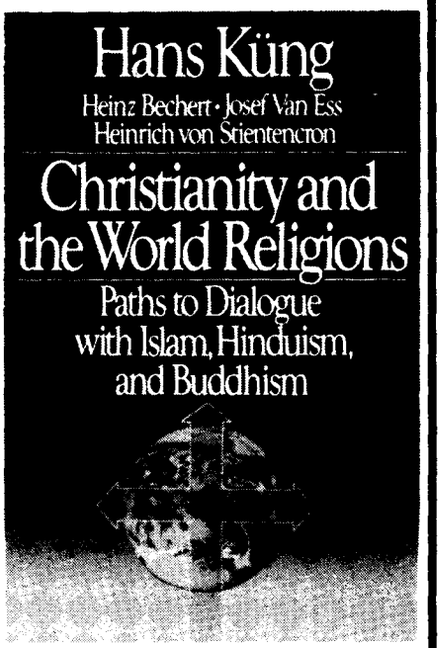
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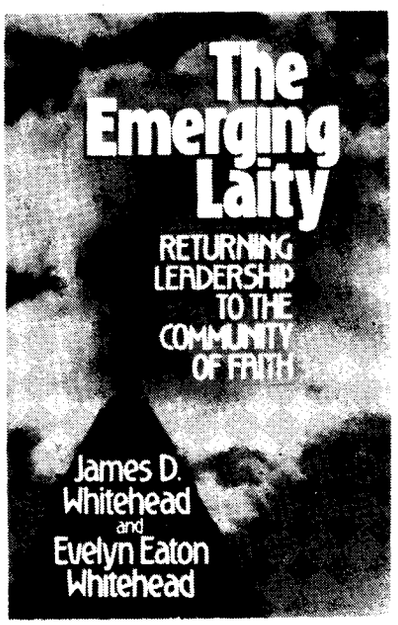

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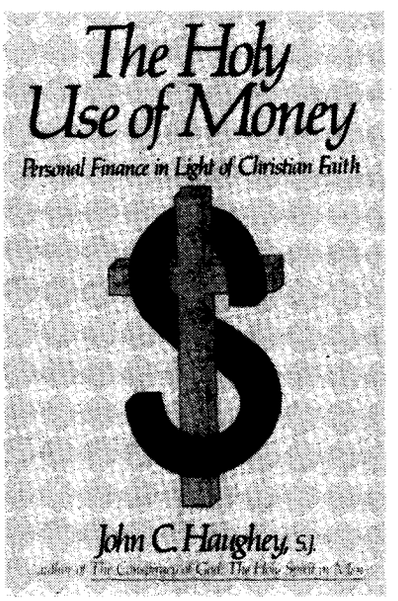

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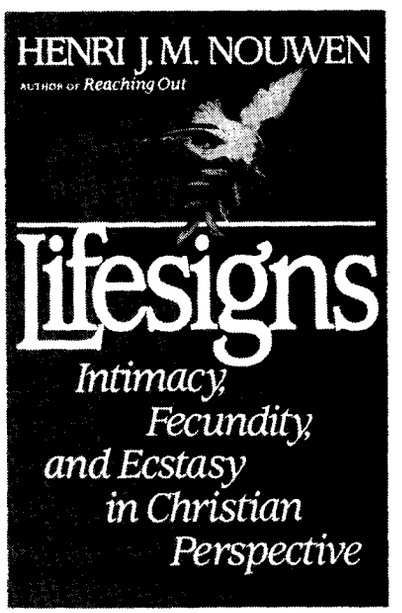

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The panelists themselves are professionals with a personal stake in the field under consideration. Each is called upon to speak before professional peers, many of whom hold publicly stated views with which other panelists wholeheartedly disagree. For example, a supporter of the New York City Gay Rights Bill, Mayor Ed Koch, shares the table with Georgia Congressman Newt Gingrich in a discussion on AIDS (October 28); John Cardinal Krol and Massachusetts Congressman Barney Frank join the panel to talk over how a decision is made to bring or not to bring a damaged fetus to term (November 4); Surgeon General C. Everett Koop and a representative from Reynolds Tobacco discuss smoking (November 11). Yet participants must refrain from name-calling, sloganeering, or other rhetorical devices all too common in one-on-one debates or in confrontational-style news programs.

Moderators have been selected for skill, humor, and candor. From the pacing, coffee-cup wielding, strong personality of Arthur Miller to the mild-mannered, unobtrusive style of Professor Charles R. Nesson of Harvard, moderators are experts in forcing panelists into introspection whenever possible, but without brow-beating. They aim for a public rethinking of a position in light of new information, a pointed question, a peer's retort. "You've got me in a corner. I don't know the answer," a doctor admits to Miller. Or in the episode on malpractice (October 21), a defense lawyer complains about the excessive fees received by plaintiff lawyers. The moderator sympathetically asks: "And what kind of car do *you* drive?" "A Porsch," the lawyer replies to peals of laughter. Within minutes, an insurance representative discloses that the percentage of lawyers' fees his company pays varies little: 35 percent to plaintiff attorneys and 33⅓ percent to defense attorneys. One very minor argument within the larger case is thereby closed.

The viewer watches a raw decision-making process, enters into it, and enjoys an intelligent sorting out of complicated issues without being manipulated, condescended to, or necessarily persuaded, all without benefit of a strained consensus among panelists.

Furthermore, while the number of women per panel is small, the moderator assures that one or two women in each segment command a disproportionately large share of the comments (at least in the episodes I previewed), making up for their limited number.

Finally, there is the case method itself — not actual case studies, but hypothetical cases for discussion that no panelist has previously addressed. Throughout the hour, cases are subtly changed, gradually complexified.

The program on confidentiality, for example, considered the case of Joe Taylor, an assembly line machine operator who has epilepsy. Joe asks his doctor to withhold this fact on an insurance form requiring the doctor's signature. "What would you do?" the moderator asks initially. Soon, we are told that Sam, the worker next to Joe on the line, is at risk because of Joe's condition. Then, Sam is killed and his widow sues Joe. Or, because the doctor reveals the epilepsy, Joe is fired and sues his doctor. Later still, we find ourselves considering Joe Jr. who faces genetic risks in light of his father's fatal Huntington's disease.

As the scenario expands so do the issues: from the mutual responsibility between doctor and patient to the duties a doctor owes society, the duties the patient owes his neighbor, the responsibilities incurred by informing or withholding medical information from family members, on and on.

No one ever pretends these questions or the decisions under discussion are simple. Viewers find themselves facing the limits of a doctor's knowledge, the biases of a doctor's own moral code, and the prudence and respect with which a doctor enters the professional relationship with a patient. The viewer gets a taste of the hazards of patient autonomy as well as the benefits of it; the types of roles medical practitioners play in the lives of their patients as well as the human foibles of botched communication and plain error in skill, judgment, and moral reasoning. What more can one expect in an hour?

KAREN SUE SMITH

Screen

INVENTIVE ADVENTURES

'PEGGY SUE' & 'DOWN BY LAW'

PEGGY SUE GOT MARRIED will be glibly compared to *Back to the Future*, but it is time travel with a difference. Directed by Francis Ford Coppola, *Peggy Sue* makes the motif much more serious, even sad at times. The story concerns a fortyish woman who attends her twenty-fifth high school reunion, passes out (a contrivance, but essential), and "goes back" to 1960, meeting all her old friends with her later experience of them completely in mind. Since (in later life) she is about to divorce the high school sweetheart she married, she wants to undo the past, and dump him at eighteen. Most of the film, not always clearly, concerns this basic plot.

But *Peggy Sue* involves its heroine in a multiplicity of relationships, all treated with a compelling bittersweet tone. She is played by Kathleen Turner, one of the few actresses around who could pass, arguably, for either forty or twenty. In one early scene as she enters the reunion with her own high school daughter, an usher comically invokes the dishwashing liquid commercial, asking "Who's the mother? I can't tell."

Turner's versatility, however, involves mood as well as looks, and she does a fine job portraying, often simultaneously, glee at revisiting old friends and sad foreboding at their fate. When she first finds herself back at her 1960 home, Turner perfectly catches this ambivalence in comic scenes (embarrassing her kid sister with "weird" expressions of tenderness, outraging her father by laughing at the new Edsel he has proudly bought) and melancholy vignettes with her mother and older relatives. The best scene in the film occurs when she can't even talk to her grandmother on the phone,

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since she knows from the future that she is talking to a ghost.

At such moments, *Peggy Sue* renews the genre of sci-fi time travel, or rather penetrates past its mere adventurism to its deeper impulse: to freeze aging. Turner, Coppola (who made the *Godfather* films), and screenwriters Jerry Leichting and Arlene Sarner deserve high praise for using a popular vehicle and wacko story line to say some important things about love of one's family and a mature appreciation of what time costs us. At its best, *Peggy Sue* brilliantly synthesizes adventure, pop Americana, philosophy, and tender nostalgia.

There are, however, a few defects, some incidental, some central. Coppola seems to have taken a very laid-back approach to directing the actors, with mixed results. While Turner keeps her balance perfectly, Nicholas Cage as her "steady" and later husband overacts both sixties teenage mannerisms and burnt-out adulthood. Some witty lines (try to catch the wordplay at a blues club on "treble without a cause") are too understated, as if the actors were straining to be ultra "cool."

The portrayal of the group of high school students who grow up to be Peggy Sue's adult friends also has strengths and defects. A welcome addition to the usual, stereotypical set is one "commie beatnik" who drives a motorcycle and whom Turner, with the wisdom of age, regards as a prophet of the Age of Aquarius around the corner. Even a teenage "nerd" physicist is treated interestingly; Turner tells him her secret, and adds some future notes on microchips and panty hose. But, except in his case, character portrayal is too conventional, especially when suggesting that people never change for the better. But perhaps I am simply faulting the film for its deepest touch of pathos.

DOWN BY LAW cost only $1.4 million to make, which makes it the funniest film per dollar in years. It could be titled *The Marx Brothers Go Cajun* or *The Three Stooges Meet Film Noir*. Director Jim Jarmusch (celebrated for his cult hit *Stranger Than Paradise* two years ago) doesn't have that much to say, but he has found a droll mode of understatement that fits his meager content and even makes it seem larger. His story is simple: three cons trying to break jail, a mock heroic venture detailing some oddities of male camaraderie.

What distinguishes *Down By Law* is not the story but the photography, the offbeat situations, and the acting, particularly by Robert Benigno as an exuberant, poetic, inventive, and hilarious Italian immigrant at the center of Jarmusch's wacky trio.

The photography is entirely black and white. At first it seems realistic, but eventually it becomes symbolic, a perfect choice for the New Orleans street scenes that serve as a backdrop for the petty, grubby hell of the American cons. One is an ex-D.J. down on his luck (Tom Waits), the other a suave but stupid pimp (John Lurie). When the two are brought to jail and finally meet, Jarmusch keeps the camera static to emphasize their enclosure, tension, and hostility.

His boldest touch occurs as their new inmate ("Roberto, but you can calla me Bub") enters the cell, pleads for friendship in broken English, and plaintively looks at their two hostile mugs for five minutes. Jarmusch doesn't let the camera move an inch, as if to say: now, or never, this film must open up. It does, though only into spring bayous whose leafless silhouettes at first remind us of prison bars.

"Bub" has a difficult time with his comrades, because of their comically homonymous names (Waits is Jack and Lurie Zack), because they often fight, and because they think he's a fool. After the escape, the trio has to wander across snake- and bug-infested swamps, where Jack, with unconscious irony, tells Roberto, "You're lucky to even be here." In truth, it is Roberto who brings good luck, especially when he catches a rabbit and recalls his "Mama's" handy ways with such critters. His immediate, impulsive spontaneity provides pure comic joy.

Jarmusch's technique, however, can be contrived and heavy-handed. The movie's beginning ransacks film noir, with dark, wasteland shots of streets deserted but for pimps, prostitutes, and petty crooks. To get his two Americans to jail, Jarmusch has to stage two lengthy "temptation" scenes in which they are lured into damning set-ups. While this keeps the audience off balance, and nicely prepares for the deflation of the mock heroic in jail and after, Jarmusch's methods here are totally the opposite of those in later, laidback sections of the film. To allow his understatement to work, he has to overstate initial conditions. To arrange for inertia, he has to do some massive Prime Moving.

Such a central contradiction is irksome. The problem is evident at the end. Roberto, aptly, lucks into love, but the two Americans walk off to face a fork in the road that recalls Roberto's allusion to "Bub" Frost's "The Road Less Traveled." It's a nice touch, but illustrates Jarmusch's problem: his film doesn't end; it evaporates. Like so many innovators, he has but two modes: expressionist contrivance and minimalism. Both are fruitful for Jarmusch, but both, as usual, are limiting.

TOM O'BRIEN

Marilyn P. Donnelly

Visiting My Children

Awaking at Maple Avenue in Cambridge
On a beige futon on the living room floor.
I am a stretched canvas waiting to be painted.

Ficus tree, come with your dappled forest greens,
Sun, splash me with shattered shafts of yellow,
Sky, azure me with tenuous morning light.

World, mitigate my skepticism. . . .
Make of me a Matisse.

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Books: AUTHORITY & AMBIVALENCE

THE POLITICS OF HERESY
THE MODERNIST CRISIS IN ROMAN CATHOLICISM

Lester R. Kurtz
California, $32.50, 267 pp.

T. Howland Sanks

THOSE familiar with the literature on the turn-of-the-century Modernist controversy, as the author himself suggests, might wonder about the need for yet another study of the issue, but Kurtz's sociological analysis is a unique and very helpful contribution. What is more, it is incredibly (and lamentably) pertinent to the present situation of theologians in the Roman Catholic church. In this meticulously researched study, Kurtz uses categories of "sociological ambivalence," "social control," "elective affinities," "deviant insiders," "resource mobilization," and "bureaucratic insurgency." These technical terms illuminate the conflict between the scholarly use of scientific and historical criticism and a hierarchical institution defending itself against the onslaught of the modern world known as "Modernism."

Although the root problem was the question of authority *within* the church, Kurtz argues that the origins of the controversy lay in the socio-historical context *outside* the church. The growth of anti-clericalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, of liberalism, republicanism, and of scientific methods in the nineteenth century, put the Roman Catholic church on the defensive almost to the point of paranoia. The Vatican responded with a three-fold strategy: "it defined Catholic orthodoxy within the bounds of scholastic theology"; "it elaborated the doctrines of papal authority and the *magisterium*"; and "it defined Catholic orthodoxy in terms of what it was not . . . by constructing the image of an heretical conspiracy among deviant insiders."

Although Kurtz provides an accurate and thorough description of Modernism, he really doesn't tell us anything we didn't already know about it historically. The real contribution of the volume is the sociological analysis. Many other attempts to explain "how all this could have happened" point to personality and psychological factors, describing the family backgrounds, personality traits, and faith crises of such figures as Loisy, Tyrrell, and von Hügel. Kurtz, however, analyzes the controversy with the aid of the categories of "sociological ambivalence" (taken from Robert K. Merton and Bernard Barber) and Weber's notion of "elective affinities."

"Ambivalence in a role is not only a matter of social psychology; it is also the result of a particular role structure and of the set of expectations surrounding that structure. Ambivalence is especially observable in professional roles — most acutely when those roles are embedded in institutions and networks that are in turmoil." Modernists such as Loisy and Tyrrell experienced ambivalence arising from three sources: the status of both priest and critic; the long-term nature of the relationship between priest and church (commitment for life); and the ambivalence arising from the special competence of a professional, i.e., the claim of a scholar to freedom of scientific inquiry. From a sociological perspective, Kurtz says, the latter was the crux of the Modernist controversy. At its heart was the question of authority — the authority of the hierarchy (and especially the papal office) to determine the meaning of doctrines and to interpret Scripture, versus the authority of scientific and historical scholarship.

It was not only Loisy, Tyrrell, and von Hügel who experienced sociological ambivalence, however. "Both the modernists and the Vatican hierarchy were responding to their entrapments in situations of radical ambivalence — ambivalence arising out of contradictory demands and expectations associated with their social roles; conflicts among various social institutions, interest groups, and social networks; and larger cultural conflicts between scientific and religious worldviews." The Modernists were *both* committed Roman Catholics *and* thoughtful critics who sought to communicate the Gospel to the cultural milieu in which they found themselves which took the scientific discoveries and the historical-critical method seriously.

In turn, the Vatican hierarchy were *both* guardians of orthodoxy *and* pastors with responsibility for preserving the faith and evangelizing the world. Both parties, then, were in a situation of radical ambivalence, and both were inside an institution in turmoil. As "deviant insiders" the Modernists' critique of the reigning orthodoxy was more dangerous to the hierarchical elite than criticism from outside the institution. Outsiders would be less likely to attract the adherence of the faithful and could be more easily dismissed. This is what Kurtz terms "the relativity of dissidence." When ideational distance as well as social distance reaches but does not exceed a certain level, mechanisms of control within an organization will be activated. This is precisely what happened in the Modernist controversy.

How this ambivalence was translated into an "orthodoxy/heresy" conflict is clarified with the help of the Weberian concept of "elective affinity."

> As social groups find an "affinity" between their status interests on the one hand and a particular configuration of ideas or worldview on the other, they identify with that definition of the situation and use it to legitimate or enhance their social status. This does not imply that either the authorities or the heretics are necessarily malicious or self-serving, although they may be.

Thus, the Modernists found the scientific and historical methods helpful in explaining how doctrines and interpretations could and did change. The ecclesiastical

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Share the Word Video Cassettes Can Help You Know and Love The Bible

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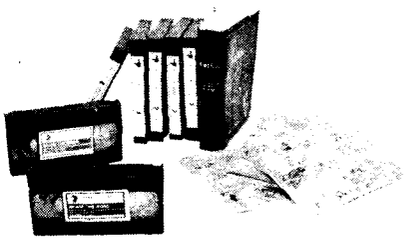
■ Many different Bible study groups can meet weekly, mornings, afternoons and evenings, at the rectory, at the convent, in a classroom, in a parish learning center—wherever the parish has a television set with a video cassette player. One participant runs the video cassette that explains the coming Sunday's readings and leads the discussion following the outline in SHARE THE WORD magazine. Bibles should be kept handy for immediate reference.
■ Invite parishioners before and after the principal Masses on Sunday to a learning area equipped with a television set and a video cassette player to study and reflect on the Sunday lectionary readings proclaimed that day. If the parishioners meet after Mass, light refreshments can be served to help build community. This program could be coordinated by a parish deacon or the director of religious education.
■ SHARE THE WORD video cassettes can be an excellent aid to help lectors prepare for the Sunday readings.
■ Assemble a team of six or seven parishioners to meet with the priests and deacons at the rectory for one hour early in the week to view SHARE THE WORD video cassettes and to offer homily suggestions for the following Sunday. Each week the parishioner longest on the team leaves the group and is replaced by another parishioner to assure the flow of fresh insights.

Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults
Use SHARE THE WORD video cassettes and SHARE THE WORD magazine to enhance the lectionary as a primary catechetical tool.
■ View the video cassettes as part of the sessions during the week to help catechumens appreciate the depth of God's Word



and its relationship to all they will do and believe as Catholics. SHARE THE WORD magazine and Bibles should be kept handy.
■ View the video cassettes as part of the weekly training for sponsors, catechists, spiritual directors and other team ministers. Their personal ministries with catechumens during the week should be based on the Word of God.
■ View the video cassettes as the first part of dismissal sharing sessions on Sunday. A side effect of this will be that sponsors and team members can join the group after Eucharist and will be present for more of the personal sharing.

Religious Education for High School Students
■ As part of the religion program for Catholic high school juniors and seniors, and to encourage regular Sunday Mass attendance, spend one period each week viewing and discussing SHARE THE WORD video cassettes and SHARE THE WORD magazine. Student copies of the Bible should be at hand.
■ Build a weekly Bible study program for older CCD students around a viewing of SHARE THE WORD video cassettes and SHARE THE WORD magazine. Discussion of next Sunday's lectionary readings will encourage attendance at Mass and will contribute to Bible literacy as part of a solid religious education. Student copies of the Bible should be handy.

Campus Ministry
As a response to fundamentalism on the campus, sponsor regular weekly Catholic Bible study/sharing programs using SHARE THE WORD video cassettes, SHARE THE WORD magazine, and student editions of the Bible. Introduce the students to an authentic Catholic approach to the Scriptures.

Hospitals
Use closed circuit television to provide patients with the opportunity to reflect and pray the Scriptures by featuring SHARE THE WORD video at least once each day during the week, and a number of times on Sunday.

Downtown Chapels
Invite office workers to bring their bag lunches to a meeting room where they can watch SHARE THE WORD video cassettes while eating their lunches, and then enter into dialogue on Scripture with their fellow workers.

Military Bases
Use SHARE THE WORD video cassettes and SHARE THE WORD magazines on military bases at home and overseas, on board ship, in military and VA hospitals, as part of the weekly religious programming for men and women in uniform. SHARE THE WORD can provide a continuity in religious education for military personnel around the world.

Convents, Monasteries, Seminaries
Gather the community together once a week around SHARE THE WORD video for a common one-hour discussion of the lectionary readings. Focus the discussion on applications for the week's ministry—preaching, teaching, home visitation, counseling, etc.

Prison Ministry
Prison chaplains, parish priests, religious women and men, deacons, and volunteers will find SHARE THE WORD video cassettes and SHARE THE WORD magazine helpful in working with small groups of prisoners.

It's very likely that you will think of many additional uses for SHARE THE WORD video cassettes. Right now, however, what's important is that you authorize us to send you a no-obligation demonstration cassette. Clip and return the coupon now. We'll take it from there!

☐ **YES!** I want a no-risk "Get Acquainted" cassette of SHARE THE WORD. I understand that you will send me a current full month's cassette (four Sundays) and bill me for only $9.99 (a $27.95 value). If I like the demonstration cassette, I will pay the bill and keep the cassette. If don't like it, I will write "no, thanks" on the bill and return it with the cassette and owe nothing.

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elites found the revival of Thomism and neo-scholastic philosophy and theology helpful in defending an unchanging and timeless orthodoxy. Again, this is not to contend that such an identification of their respective interests with a particular set of ideas was a conscious or malicious act. "Elective affinity" is a neutral and nuanced manner of describing the relationship between interests and ideas. The Modernist controversy is partially explained by this increasing affinity on both sides.

One further contribution Kurtz makes to our understanding of the Modernist controversy is to firmly establish that it really was a self-conscious movement with a social structure, sharing a broad outline of ideas, a desire to reform the Roman Catholic church, and a loose network of "members" held together by conversations, correspondence (Kurtz details the evidence for this), distribution of writings, reviewing books, and financial assistance, the latter mainly from Baron von Hügel. Kurtz then outlines the various forms of control, both informal and official, mobilized by the Vatican hierarchy and the various modes of response by the "dissident insiders."

The author achieves his three-fold goal of showing how orthodoxy is constructed through conflicts about heresy, providing a sociological analysis of the Modernist controversy, and drawing out the implications for an analysis of social change and social movements.

A comparison and contrast between the Modernist controversy and the contemporary conflict between theologians and the Vatican hierarchy (e.g., Küng, Schillebeeckx, Boff, Curran) seems inevitable. First, some similarities: (1) The root problem is still that of authority — magisterial and papal authority versus the authority of the scholar. (2) The issue of the nature of religious truth remains — i.e., the neo-scholastic position that religious truth is universal and unchanging versus the modern consciousness of the historical and contextual character of all human utterances. (3) The emphasis by the Vatican on the magisterium, narrowly defined, is still at issue, e.g., the question by Rome about the right of the U.S. bishops' conference to teach authoritatively in the pastorals on nuclear weapons and the economy.

Some differences: (1) The socio-historical context *outside* the church is not the same as that of the nineteenth century — the church is not facing a grave political crisis and anti-clericalism is not an issue. (2) The conflict between science and religion has abated, and the Second Vatican Council adopted a positive attitude toward the modern world rather than the defensive posture at the time of Modernism. (3) The controversy has shifted from doctrinal issues to problems of morality, e.g., contraception, abortion, homosexuality, and divorce.

Kurtz's study makes it clear that sociological ambivalence will remain for the Vatican hierarchy, for the priest-scholar, and for the critic who wishes to remain a "deviant insider." There will remain "elective affinities" between the interests of groups with a certain social status in an organization and sets of ideas, worldviews, or theologies. Both of these conclusions are based on the fact that they are rooted in social structures and not in the personalities of the conflicting parties. Kurtz's study thus enables us to keep some perspective on present controversies, and for this we are in his debt.

The sensuous Christian

INNOCENT ECSTASY
HOW CHRISTIANITY GAVE AMERICA AN ETHIC OF SEXUAL PLEASURE

Peter Gardella
Oxford, $17.95, 210 pp.

Ronald Modras

WHAT do St. Alphonsus Liguori, Bishop Francis Kenrick of Philadelphia, John Kellogg of the corn flake, and Sylvester Graham of the cracker have in common? If we are to believe Peter Gardella, they have all helped to shape America's contemporary ethic of guilt-free sex.

Gardella states his thesis in the first sentence of the Introduction. "This book describes how Christian influences, working through popular culture, led Americans to seek ecstatic pleasure and to expect freedom from guilt in their sexual relations." From Catholic moralists and Victorian physicians to obscure novelists and Margaret Sanger, Gardella tells the story of the "struggle to overcome original sin."

In a chapter on "Catholic Sensuality," Gardella makes much of St. Alphonsus Liguori's opinion that, without incurring guilt, a woman could bring herself to orgasm after intercourse with her husband if she herself had not experienced climax. Bishop Francis Kenrick wrote of the husband's duty to assist his wife to climax in such a situation. Though Kenrick would more than likely demur, Gardella reads this as "an explicit shift of concern from conception to pleasure."

Liberal and evangelical Protestants are likewise held responsible for the sexual revolution. From the 1830s to our own century, suspicions about clerical celibacy and the confessional gave rise to a flourishing genre of "anti-Catholic pornography" capable of finding its way into the most proper of Protestant homes. Such literature is indicted for increasing both the amount and explicitness of discourse about sex.

Dr. John Harvey Kellogg, a leading Seventh Day Adventist, was convinced that children begotten in passion would become obsessed with sex themselves; his breakfast cereals were designed and promoted to preserve the race from decline with their anti-aphrodisiac effect. Sylvester Graham prescribed his cracker for the same reasons. In a similar vein, Horace Bushnell's efforts to reconcile science and religion led him to reduce original sin to physical pathology and religion to a health regimen.

Evangelical Christianity made its contribution to the cause of guilt-free sex with its zeal to promote emotional conversion experiences. Gardella draws a line connecting the victory over sin through religious experience and what he calls the victory over sin through sexual experience. The evangelical belief that

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perfection could be attained in a moment of religious ecstasy helped to remove the suspicion that all passion is tainted. So too St. Bernadette, the screen portrayal of her by Jennifer Jones, and the idealization of womanhood in Mary are described as identifying female ecstasy with religious fulfillment.

With all these precursors in the popular culture, it was left only for Margaret Sanger to proclaim the gospel of redemption through sex. Although her crusade for contraception is traced to her association with socialists, Sanger articulated her message in religious language drawn from Catholic and Methodist influences in her background. By exalting intercourse as a "ritual of sexual communion" and sex as a redemptive force with the "nature of a sacrament," she was able to free contraception from association with free love and socialism which would have otherwise barred its acceptance in the American mainstream.

So it is, we are told, that first liberal Protestants in the 1920s and then Catholics and evangelicals in the sixties and seventies lost any sense of original sin. Gardella regularly equates original sin with sexual concupiscence. One wishes that he would have taken greater account of the condemnation of that simple identification at the Council of Trent. That, of course, is a difficulty with a book that purports to be doing a popular study of popular culture. It allows the author to move, sometimes in the same paragraph, from Catholic to Protestant, evangelical to mainstream, from the Middle Ages to the Victorian era, allowing inferences to replace argument, and association to serve as a substitute for careful definition, whether of original sin or ecstasy.

Gardella recognizes the problem of historical causality and admits that the contemporary attitude toward sex did not result from any single factor. He intends, he says, only "to tell a plausible story." His occasional attenuations notwithstanding, he still maintains that our American sexual ethic has a religious quality which it inherited from Christianity's zeal to overcome sin and experience salvation. One wonders if he would have made the same claim and written the same book if he had studied the sexual revolution in Europe (Holland, Britain, France), given more thought to the impact of science and technology (the automobile, the pill, a naturalistic view of sex as a function), or taken some cognizance of Jewish tradition which knows about sexual guilt without a doctrine of original sin and has made its own impact on popular American culture.

Gardella has done an impressive amount of research, but he is more informative than persuasive.

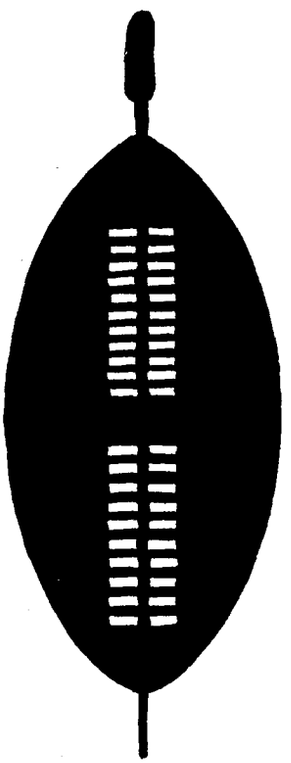
T. HOWLAND SANKS, S.J., *is Dean of the Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley.*

RONALD MODRAS *was co-author of the Catholic Theological Society's Study,* Human Sexuality.

Correspondence

(Continued from page 514)

but to prophetically read the "signs of the times." MICHAEL CANDELARIA



SOUTH AFRICA?

The bloody revolution in South Africa has begun. . . . The reforms President P.W. Botha announced in a series of disappointing addresses this summer fell decidedly short of substantive change. They appear to be stonewalling rather than foundation building.

. . . No one has stated the situation more succintly than Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda. "Power," he said recently, "must be given to all the people of South Africa . . . They have to sit together to discuss their future. If not, the explosion we have been fearing will take place . . . it will make the French Revolution look like a Sunday school picnic." A better way must be tried.

Commonweal Editorial, October 18, 1985

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Balanced & realistic

New Holstein, Wis.

To the Editors: Though intrigued by the number of outraged responses to your May 9 editorial and to Edward Sheehan's "The Battle for Nicaragua," I was delighted to discover in that same July 11 issue yet another balanced and realistic critique of liberation theology, this one by John Cort.

Carlos Fuentes once proposed that "every Marxist is a frustrated agrarian." What he did not concede, however, is that Marxists purposely exploit the legitimate hopes and frustrations of third-world peoples to establish "dictatorships of the proletariat (politburo)" totally divorced from the agrarian ideals of self-determination amid community . . .

The unfortunate rivalry between liberation theologians and the Holy Office is characterized by a mutual reductionism. Both Father Gutierrez and Cardinal Ratzinger indicate a preference for pat, often partisan answers to the timeless issues of sin and injustice, individual and collective. Such bickering brings to mind that ludicrous shibboleth, "It doesn't matter what you believe as long as you're sincere." Each cleric has shown that he can be sincere, though at times sincerely wrong.

STEPHEN SETTLE

Maybe true, but . . .

Cape Breton, Canada

To the Editors: With respect to John C. Cort's article on liberation theology, I have a serious problem with some of Mr. Cort's assumptions concerning peasants and "the right of the peasant to own land, free from the fear of expropriation by the state."

It may, in fact, be true that Latin American peasants, like most peasants, have a strong desire for land. But the fear of expropriation *by the state* does not have a large place in their experience. From the institution of liberal private property in the *Reforma* in Mexico in 1857, through the very similar "reforms" in Central America in the 1870s and 1880s, and indeed throughout much of Latin America, liberal, private-property regimes have deprived Indians of their communal holdings (some of which had survived three centuries of Spanish rule), and by subjecting all land to the vagaries of the market, eventually deprived *campesinos* of their land. Under this regime land becomes a commodity like any other. It is alienable and often — in hard times — alienated, not only in Mexico, Brazil, Peru, or Guatemala, but in our own time, in Ontario and Iowa. The Welfare State has in some cases attempted to mitigate the harshness of the impact of this regime on small landholders when crops are too bad or too good. Hardly any of the OECD countries fails to subsidize its agriculture.

Not only do most Latin American regimes not protect small landholders, since they do not have the means to do so, historically the liberal state had neither the intention nor the desire. The risk to [owning] land came not primarily from the state, but from the *fazendeiros, qamonales, latifundistas*, etc., who by fair means or foul (often it mattered not) obtained a legal title to land worked by a *campesino*. If the *campesino* resisted, as often happened, those who had legal title to the private property in land had only to call in the soldiers. Such scenes were normal in the Andean countries right up to the 1920s and '30s.

I know John Cort well enough to know that he is quite familiar with Pius XI's remarks on the different kinds of property, as well as with the same pope's censure of unbridled competition under an individualistic and liberal regime of private property. The small are gobbled up by the big.

Today in Latin America the old *terratenientes* are on the defensive. Small holders must now defend themselves against multinational corporations or national industrial enterprises funded by institutions such as the World Bank. Peasants whose land is taken over often do not have legal title to the land. Even if they did, they could not afford the lawyers hired by those who have legal title. While a redistribution of land may loom large in the dreams of many peasants, individualistic land reforms that do not provide for credit, technical assistance, or security against debt and loss of holdings in bad years serve only to legitimize further losses of land, losses which are poignant enough in Iowa or Ontario, but which are both tragic and inevitable in Latin America under a liberal landholding regime.

It is this background, I think, rather than Marxian dogmatism, that explains the reticence of Gustavo Gutierrez and others to propose the right of the peasant to own land "free from fear of expropriation by the rich and powerful." Under a liberal capitalist regime, land is in fact "a commodity like any other." Even here in Canada, an Ontario Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) complained a few years back that twenty-eight acres of prime farm land were going under asphalt *every day*. Ontario farmers are helpless to prevent this, and given our socio-economic regime, some of them prefer it; they can sell farm land to developers and retire on the proceeds. The alternative is to work until they drop.

JORDAN BISHOP

Let him go to Peru

Cincinnati, Ohio

To the Editors: After reading John Cort's "Christians and Class Struggle," I am sure that Cort's talents for defending capitalism are wasted in the socialist camp he claims. I welcome criticism of liberation theology; self-criticism is good for one's politics as well as one's soul. But one expects a socialist to use socialist, not capitalist arguments.

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In response to Cort's criticisms I can only urge him to follow the advice in his opening paragraphs and put himself in the place of the people he criticizes. More specifically, before criticizing the politics of an activist Peruvian theologian on the basis of a few brief political statements in those theological documents translated into English, Cort should examine the political/economic *projects* supported by that activist and by his associates in Peru. I have found no basis at all for Cort's charges against Gustavo Gutierrez, either in the many social/political projects which have spun off from Gutierrez's Bartolome de Las Casas Center in Lima, or among the many students and followers of Gutierrez who work in the church, in social work, and in politics in Peru. Most are engaged in the formation and support of various types of co-operatives, just as Cort himself advocates. There is no basis either in Gutierrez's writings or his praxis for Cort's state capitalism charges.

Gutierrez repeatedly expresses his political option for socialism, and an indigenous socialism at that. If Cort were aware of Gutierrez's oft stated approval for the sentiments of Peruvian Marxist Carlos Mariategui: "We certainly do not wish for socialism in America to be an exact copy of others' socialism. . . . We must bring Indo-American socialism to life within our own reality" (*A Theology of Liberation*, p. 90), he might have gotten a clue that Gutierrez and his companions do not feel limited to the European choices of private property or state capitalism which Cort recognizes.

The Indian heritage of Peru and most other South American nations (and of Gutierrez himself) was based in localized forms of communal property. The peasants Cort seems so concerned for are not being urged by liberation theologians to turn to state capitalism from private ownership systems. They have been victimized for centuries precisely because their traditions of communal ownership were not and are not recognized by the Spanish and their descendants. Those few peasants who possess land deeds do desire registered titles (for some nations have blocked title registration in whole regions for over fifteen years) because that is their only hope of protecting their land tenure. But many have only squatters' rights, whether based on five years occupancy or five hundred. The peasants want land to farm; few are intent on private ownership for its own sake. And yes, liberation theologians do sometimes censure peasants intent on private ownership, when the privileged few who have land turn their backs on the landless in the name of private property rights. Such criticism assumes the needs of the poor are prior to title to property; it does not necessitate opposition to any and all private ownership. This is hardly a new idea in theology. It is Cort, not Gutierrez, who is "imposing European abstractions" on the peasants.

As for Gutierrez on class struggle, Cort presents no evidence that Gutierrez or any liberation theologian condemns all employers as unjust or enemies. He totally fails to deal with the development in Catholic social teaching extending from John XXIII through John Paul II which urges that workers not only share in the

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profits of the enterprises in which they work, but in management decisions as well. This entire trend has developed to meet Marx's criticism of wage labor as dehumanizing.

Cort's criticism that Gutierrez has abandoned reform for revolution is largely true. That revolution, however, is a social revolution which organizes popular, participative social structures; it is one of many targets of the Peruvian guerrilla movement, Sendero Luminoso. Cort vastly overrates the possibility for justice in present Latin American systems. Peru's President Garcia was elected on pledges of socio-economic reform now stalemated by the opposition of the rich and the army. In the last few weeks the threat of a military coup severely escalated after Garcia demanded an inquiry into the army massacre of one hundred prisoners who had already surrendered in a riot over inhuman prison conditions.

Cort's call for Gutierrez and other liberation theologians to be open about their revolutionary politics is ridiculous. A major cause for Rome's opposition is that they *are* open. Gutierrez's politics are no secret in Peru; besides speaking and granting interviews, he is known to be a friend and advisor to leading leftist politicians. Writing theology which is translated into other languages does not oblige him to also write tracts explaining his Peruvian politics to U.S., French, or other audiences. If Cort wants to know Gutierrez's politics, let him go to Peru, read the newspapers, and explore the popular projects of Gutierrez *et al*. But don't accuse Gutierrez of being secretive about his politics. CHRISTINE GUDORF

Distressing insistence

Detroit, Mich.

To the Editors: I was distressed by John Cort's article on liberation theology ["Christians and the Class Struggle," July 11]. I agree with his concern about complete elimination of private ownership and about democratic institutions. I acknowledge that he found a "smoking gun": Gutierrez's statement about "a society in which private ownership of the means of production is eliminated." I agree with Cort's criticisms of many statements made by the Christians for Socialism in 1972 (a document to which Gutierrez contributed but was not the principal author). Why then am I distressed? I am distressed because I believe Cort "reads into" Gutierrez far more than is stated, a failing I also find occurring often in Cardinal Ratzinger's criticisms of liberation theology.

Gutierrez never, to my knowledge, calls for nationalizing all property, nor for placing all power in the hands of one party. If these really were his positions, one would expect to find them stated somewhere in all his works. His statement on elimination of private property, cited by Cort, continued rather with an insistence on "the *masses* appropriating

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the means of production'' and their own political management (*The Power of the Poor in History*, p. 38). This is a recurrent stress in the book cited, and it includes political democracy: ''an effective share in the exercise of political power . . . the desire for a truly democratic society'' (p.49). I grant that Marxist-Leninists have made themselves the voice of, and ruler of, the ''masses.'' But is it fair to interpret Gutierrez as meaning this?

If Gutierrez believes in Soviet-style socialism, why would he insist that the term ''socialism'' requires ''the use of cautious language and careful distinctions'' (*A Theology of Liberation*, p.111)? Why has he supported both Chile (1970-1973) and Nicaragua when they, in principle at least, have insisted on ''mixed economies'' and the retention of many forms of private property? I can understand Gutierrez's desire for a radical transformation; in Latin America 1.3 percent of the population controls 71 percent of the land (Michael Todaro, *Economic Development in the Third World*, p. 260). Private property has never meant family farms, small businesses, and wide distribution of property as it once meant in the U.S.

To urge Gutierrez to clarify his position would be a worthy contribution. I would welcome that since I find him too vague and utopian. I am also willing to admit Gutierrez *might* confirm what Cort interprets him to hold (though I do not think so). But at this point, I believe that Cort reads into Gutierrez far more than Gutierrez states.

ARTHUR F. McGOVERN, S.J.
University of Detroit

The author replies:

To Paul Sigmund: We Drink from Our Own Wells is indeed a deeply spiritual meditation on the poverty and martyrdom of Latin Americans struggling against injustice. But there is nothing in it that would alter Gutierrez's commitment to classical Marxism without the atheistic materialism and the total elimination of the means of production.

Also, I have too much respect for his intelligence to believe that he would permit publication in 1983 of an opinion on this essential question if he had changed his mind since he expressed it in 1973. If Father Gutierrez is moving toward ''a socialism that is more unambiguously democratic,'' that is good news. I hope he himself will make that clear to his readers in North as well as Central and South America.

To Michael Candelaria: I did not mean to imply that Gutierrez opposes private ownership of consumer goods or houses. As for the suggestion that the Latin American peasant, still in the majority, doesn't want a piece of land of his own, this is an original idea that cries out for supporting evidence. Should we have a vote on the question? The delegates at the convention of Christians for Socialism in Santiago, Chile, did not agree with you, even though they obviously would have liked to.

To Jordan Bishop: No argument.

To Christine Gudorf: My critique was not directed to Father Gutierrez's activities in Peru, which are surely worthy of our admiration, but rather to his writings as published in English. My article was a small part of a forthcoming book that deals not only with the social teaching of the popes, but with that of many others, including Jesus, the Hebrew prophets, and Moses. I share the popes' preference for profit-sharing, participatory management, and co-ownership.

To Father McGovern: I second most warmly the suggestion that Gutierrez clarify his views on ''the masses appropriating the means of production,'' nationalization, ''a truly democratic society,'' and ''a society that exercises no kind of coercion, from whatever source'' (p. 27, *We Drink from Our Own Wells*). The last idea suggests the Marxist phantasy that once private ownership of production is eliminated, we will see ''a new man'' and a new society where ''the state will wither away.'' This is dream stuff. I fear Gutierrez has not thought these questions through to their complex and awkward conclusions. Which is too bad, for his influence, for many good reasons, is substantial and will probably remain so.

JOHN CORT

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